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ALREADY we are told that we are quite too enthusiastic about the coming Disarmament Conference, that, since the same men, or type of men, who controlled at Versailles will dominate at Washington, it is idle to expect any relief for humanity. To this we reply that we have never been under any illusions as to the dangers confronting the meeting. We are quite aware of the Washington belief that the majority of his Cabinet opposes the President on disarmament; that both England and the United States are going on with their fleet construction as if nothing were coming out of the Conference; that these so-called statesmen are all puppets in the hands of the great financial interests. We are afraid, too, that the coupling to it of the parley on Pacific problems is more than likely to prove a real danger to the Disarmament Conference. But granting all this, we still give profound thanks for it. We would rather it should be held and fail than never be held at all. For the mere meeting of the delegates will focus the world's attention on the folly of armaments as never before. The questions relating to it will be discussed for months by every newspaper on earth; the publicity disarmament will get could not be purchased for a billion of dollars and, if it gives promise of achieving something, the Conference will force its opponents into the open. These are priceless things in themselves; and with every month that passes even the Lloyd Georges and the Briands will come to see more clearly that there is no choice save between disarmament and bankruptcy. We trust they will soon have additional reason to perceive that it is a choice between disarmament and revolution.

OF course, everything depends upon the way the Conference is handled. If President Harding's representatives play their cards badly; if the Root type of mind prevails; if we once more bow down to Great Britain, the disarmament mountain will but give birth to a mouse. Yet even mice have their uses as a certain lion once discovered and mice as object lessons are not without value. As matters stand, however, we have nearly all the cards in our hands and how many tricks we shall take will depend entirely upon our players. Senator Borah does well to point out that the American taxpayer is deeply involved in what happens abroad, because our waiving our interest on the Allied debts to us is making it possible for France to be today a far more thoroughly militarized nation than Germany ever was, even in 1914; that England can keep up her far-flung battle line of 350,000 red soldiers is largely due to our generosity. We have heard much these last two weeks as to the question of the Allied debts to us. We trust nothing has been done or promised, or will be, that will keep us from using those debts for the advancement of humanity. We should lose not one moment in saying to the Allies that our people decline longer to finance the armament madness of Europe which today is responsible for more than 3,000,000 of men withdrawn from gainful pursuits and idling in the calling of war. This is an intolerable state of affairs for a sane world.

SO the noble Senator Clayton R. Lusk, 100 per cent patriot, defender of the sacredness of the home, persecutor of "Reds," compiler of the great "Who's Who in Radicalism," and administerer of the oath of loyalty to all teachers of the Empire State, has been "caught with the goods on." That is, he is found to have accepted by some little oversight a $1,000 silver service from some police detectives, after the event, for his kindly aid in passing through the Legislature a bill which redounded to their financial profit. Well, we are not surprised. Patriotism is still the last refuge of the political scoundrel—not that we would apply so harsh a word to Senator Lusk. He is no scoundrel; he merely acted according to his lights, and what those are we are now able to judge a little more fully than before. We merely would indicate that a certain type of aggressive patriotism has always been a political refuge in this country, and, of course, it was no fault of Senator Lusk's that he was found out so unhappily. We trust that no teacher will be so rude as to ask Senator Lusk how his Senator's oath of office bears upon that silver service, or that any radical editor will be so unkind as to try to relate the silver to the question of what constitutes the true loyalty to his State of a 100 per cent patriot. And we confess that we cannot see why the Republicans are talking of deposing him as Senate leader. Did he not merely accept a token of gratitude? Does he not most admirably typify the point of view of 1921 of the Americans who, for our sins, chiefly dominate our social, industrial, and political life?

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THE NATION rejoices over the action of Senator McCormick in introducing a resolution providing for a thorough and searching investigation of the unhappy state of affairs in Santo Domingo. It is reported that Senators McCormick, Johnson, and Pomerene will form a commission for this purpose to leave in ten days' time. This is the proper mode of procedure: no investigation by Marines of the behavior of Marines, wherein judge, jury, jailer, and prisoner are all members of the same family, but an impartial Congressional inquiry, an honest and fair attempt to clear the good name of the United States and to make restitution for past injuries to a small country which should have been protected instead of being pilloried. The Senatorial commission should be accompanied by a corps of unbiased reporters who will see that all its findings receive proper publicity; it should not only make its investigation with the greatest care but should be equally careful that its recommendations are carried out. Meanwhile, the Dominicans may take heart of grace. Perhaps the worst of their troubles are over.

JUST when the Danish Government has flatly refused to erect a tariff barrier against the flood of German manufactures expected there, on the ground that such a tariff would be of no benefit in the existing grave industrial crisis, and that it would offset efforts to decrease costs of production and lessen unemployment, our House of Representatives has to rush through the Fordney Tariff quite as if we were back in 1890 and the world had not stood on its head since. We venture to say that the bulk of the hide-bound Republican Representatives who voted on July 21 for this measure and carried it by 289 to 127 gave no real consideration to any of the economic reasons which made the Danish Premier, Neergard, flatly refuse to consider a tariff bill after a congress of Danish manufacturers and industrial associations had served notice on him that imports from Germany, England, and America would shortly ruin Denmark. We are sure the 289 heard only the swish of the party whip and the orders of the privileged manufacturers and crop growers who own the Republican Party and insist that the Government shall help them to increase and stabilize their profits. Now the Fordney Tariff is in the Senate. Long may it rest there. Indeed, if it were wise the Senate would cut off its head behind the ears, that is, vote to strike out all after the enacting clause. But there is one sporting side to the passage of a wicked bill like this; it gives rise to endless speculation and betting as to whether it will hoist the Republican Party just as high as did the Payne-Aldrich tariff and when.

THE majority report of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs which has been investigating certain war-time scandals among enlisted men at the Newport Training Station finds the Navy Department responsible for conduct of a particularly blameworthy sort. The men at that station were housed under conditions which made possible—and indeed extremely likely—the development of vicious practices. When such practices developed the authorities, very hard put to it in dealing with them, resorted to the device of an investigating squad the members of which are said to have had to participate in the vicious practices in order to get evidence sufficient to convict the ringleaders. In this the authorities went one step beyond the old scheme of setting a thief to catch a thief: they are reported to have set innocent youths to catch experienced offenders. Just where the blame is to be laid does not appear from the report of the subcommittee, which divides along party lines in accusing or exonerating the former Secretary and the former Assistant Secretary of the Navy. The blame doubtless lies with stupid subordinates somewhere. This is the kind of thing which we ought to expect from the naval mind; just as the vicious practices were the natural result of herding masses of young men together under such unnatural conditions. In every army and every navy these immoralities take place.

THE Silesian situation grows worse rather than better, and by refusing Great Britain's appeal for a quick determination of boundary lines the French will have to bear the chief blame for what may come. The irregulars on both sides in Upper Silesia grow more restless as time passes and no decision is reached, and the dispatch of more French troops is likely only to have the effect of stirring up trouble. Three plans of settlement are suggested in Mr. Nash's able article on another page of this issue, and it is easy to determine which is the most fair and workable; the Allies have the plebiscite to go by and in addition volumes of facts on every aspect of the question. There is no excuse for delay; hence France's insistence on further investigations by "experts" cannot be honest in intent. A settlement is needed now, and every day's postponement makes the ultimate settlement harder.

WHEN he writes to so able and enlightened a newspaper as the Baltimore *Sun* Mr. Lamar, lately Solicitor to the Post Office Department, should realize that he is no longer advising his former chief or his colleagues and should stick to the facts. The *Sun* and its readers know the facts, and when Mr. Lamar lumps together the Milwaukee *Leader* and the New York *Call* and the *Liberator* under the head of "communist papers" he makes his readers smile, and the rest of his argument, good law though it may be, loses nine-tenths of its force. Also when Mr. Lamar assumes that an espousal of the principle of free speech is tantamount to an espousal of everything that may thereupon be said, he adopts a pitiable trick that no good lawyer should be guilty of. The Baltimore *Sun*, like some of the rest of us, knows that two of the papers in question are not communist at all but are rather bitterly set against the communist faction in the socialist movement in the United States; it knows that none of them is advocating bomb-throwing as the method of ushering in the cooperative commonwealth; it knows that the fight for free speech is every man's fight and that it has no more connection with revolution than it has with reaction. But Mr. Lamar will never pay attention to facts, for facts interfere with fulminations. Meanwhile we wish to support every effort of the Baltimore *Sun* to make it possible for the New York *Call* to carry its appeal to the Supreme Court. The *Call* is not only appealing for its own rights; it is appealing for justice and freedom from bureaucratic tyranny for every man and every publication in the United States.

THE conviction of Nicolo Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti of murder in the first degree is, according to the intrepid Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee, only another milestone in the case and not the end. Despite the warning of Judge Thayer in the beginning of the trial that the prosecution could not introduce any evidence concerning the social or political beliefs of the defendants, Sacco was on

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July 7 compelled to answer questions on his attitude toward government in general, on anarchy, deportation, America as a free country, and America as a place of educational opportunity. The fact that Sacco evaded the selective draft law was also brought into the testimony. The contention of the defense all through the trial has been that the case was a frame-up, an attempt to "get" Sacco and Vanzetti for their years of work for labor and for their radicalism. But the twelve good men and true who, after listening to Judge Thayer's fair and just charge to the jury, took five hours to reach a verdict, thought otherwise. The defense, hampered as it is by lack of funds, will nevertheless make a fight for a new trial. Why do not the Italians in this part of the country unite to help their countrymen in a case which bears many of the earmarks of the Mooney affair?

THE future prospects of the dirigible airship seem as difficult to measure as the chances for peace in Ireland, or the prospects of Greek success in the latest offensive. The British Admiralty has rejected it definitely for all time despite the valuable scouting service attributed to the Zeppelin which accompanied the German fleet in the battle of Jutland, and the British Air Ministry is getting rid of all of its remaining craft by turning them over to the Disposal Board in despair, for, despite the offer of the Air Ministry to give away these airships, plus their materials and hangars, for nothing, no private enterprise has asked for them to start an airship line. This is attributed to fear of accidents, the high cost of service, plus the question whether it can be made to pay, and to airplane competition. This news is puzzling because in Germany the Zeppelins have been doing well and because the American Consulate in London reports that a British company which intends operating a daily airplane service to Paris, Brussels, and Amsterdam is contemplating a bi-weekly airship service to the United States and Canada with a ship carrying fifty passengers and a crew of fifteen—and providing a bath with each cabin! For about $250 passengers are to have the pleasure of crossing in fifty hours. As to this, we shall see what we shall see, particularly when the great new dirigible we are building in England for war purposes crosses the Atlantic this fall. Meanwhile, the fact remains that Europe is far ahead of us in the use of airplanes for commercial purposes.

WARS may come and peace may go, but science keeps on—or ought to keep on—forever. Among the explorers and the archaeologists business is once more beginning to attain "normalcy." Donald MacMillan with six companions is off in the auxiliary schooner Bowdoin for Baffin Land, to explore a region still practically as little known as when William Baffin announced his discovery and put his name on the map over three hundred years ago. Flinders Petrie and his experts are unpacking and cataloguing the thousands of finds made in Egypt during the past two years by the British School of Archaeology, which has plundered a splendid cemetery and turned up a host of those little figures, carved from wood, in which the ancient Egyptians left their most realistic record of daily life: "a miniature granary filled with busy servants; a kitchen where one cook turns a trussed goose on a spit, while another (his wig removed for coolness' sake) fans the fire; a sacrificial ceremony; the setting of a table; and high-prowed boats with sails of brown linen, manned by crews of black-haired sailors." Among these finds is the body of a girl who the experts say must have died 8,000 years ago. In weather as hot as this we have forgotten precisely how you can tell whether a person has been dead 8,000 years, but we feel disposed to guess that several politicians now making a great stir in the world have been dead nearly that long—if the public and they only knew it.

THIS has been climatically as exceptional a year in Switzerland as elsewhere. Not only has the drought profoundly affected the height of rivers and lakes, it has had a marked effect upon the glaciers as well. Never, in living memory, says the *Manchester Guardian*, were high rocks so bare of snow at the same date as they are now. It is an amazingly snowless summer, with the result that there is more climbing without guides than ever and one party has already paid for its daring by severe suffering and by frozen limbs. As for the glaciers, they have continued to spread out and progress despite the lack of snow and cold. The very absence of snow has made the crevasses widen and the "snouts" of the glaciers advance. This makes many observers question the truth of the assertion that all glaciers are steadily decreasing in size and will some day disappear, just as all the peaks are gradually wearing away and getting lower all the time—not so rapidly as to be noticeable to the naked eye, but quite obviously to the scientists. The hotel-keepers will, we trust, benefit by reports of the existing curious state of affairs, for the war has rendered most of them bankrupts or near bankrupt. We hope that many of the very great throng of American tourists going over this year will help out Switzerland, generous minister during the war to the wounded and suffering of both sides, just as we rejoice that the millions of dollars Americans are leaving in France this summer will help the finances of that country not inconsiderably.

WHEN the owl and the pussy cat went to sea in their beautiful pea-green boat we are sure that they got no more publicity from the local press than has been given to the adventurous Mr. John B. Kelly and his wife who, with two paid hands and a friend, have navigated the Atlantic ocean in 33 days in their 51-foot schooner yacht. Not that we begrudge them publicity; on the contrary this is one of the worth-while happenings that too often are overlooked. Anything which makes for the development of yachting along sound lines is well worth while. For years the America's cup races produced a type of freak yacht which was immediately imitated by small-boat sailors, with the result that our harbors were full of eccentric, spoon-bowed, fin-keeled craft that had to run for port whenever a sea kicked up. There is no reason why a 51-foot craft shouldn't cross the ocean fairly comfortably, provided it is built to go to sea and stick out a blow. That fine sailor, Thomas F. Day, and two others crossed in a 15-foot boat, the Sea Bird, a few years ago. Some of the fastest and most adventurous sailing ever done by Americans was with the Baltimore clippers in the first half of the last century on boats of a length of only 75 to 125 feet. They thought nothing of a trip to Africa and too often came back from there laden down with slaves. They kept the seas in all weather, and without the aid of the wireless and the auxiliary engine which Mr. Kelly had on board of his up-to-date little craft. At the same time we would not depreciate Mr. Kelly's achievement. He and his wife showed a fine, sporting spirit which will, we hope, find many imitators.

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The Great God Property

MORE and more it becomes apparent that the single point at issue between us and Mexico is the sacred right of private property. Our Administration is insisting on behalf of our oil kings and land barons, as well as on behalf of the small American investors in Mexico, that their property in that country shall be safe from confiscation and perhaps, also, from severe taxation approaching confiscation. The Administration has made it perfectly clear in its attitude toward Russia that it will have nothing whatever to do with a government which does not respect and preserve private ownership of property. It plainly believes that the individual's right to property is the foundation stone of human society and of all government, and there is no need to question the sincerity with which Mr. Harding and Mr. Hughes feel that in their attitude toward General Obregon they are not merely standing upon sound legal and moral rights, but are breaking a lance on behalf of the very structure of our society. All Obregon need do to free himself from our pressure is to sign a treaty confirming what he has said in the New York *World* and elsewhere that Article 27 of the Constitution of 1917 shall not be construed retroactively, that Mexico will not recapture the property of American investors without adequate compensation and all will be well; he will be recognized by us and congratulated on the progress Mexico has made under his wise and able government.

Now, if one is prepared to admit that private property has rights beyond all else, rights superior to human rights, rights beyond the power of any government to contravene, then one must heartily applaud the stand the Harding Administration is taking. Unfortunately, if one is an American with some knowledge of the history of one's country, it is not quite easy to abase one's self absolutely before the altar of the Great God Property. For a large portion of the history of the United States has to do with the question whether human rights were or were not superior to property rights. When we abolished slavery we not only took the slaves that were the property of Americans away from their owners, thereby ruining many of them, but we actually did the same to the foreigners, British and others, who owned slave property on our soil. Nor did we offer or even give to those foreign owners one single dollar as compensation for the loss of their property. In brief, we did precisely the same thing which we are now warning General Obregon that Mexico must under no circumstances do to our nationals owning property there.

But if it be contended that this is not an analogous case, that one must not compare property in human beings with property in oil or grazing lands, we need only go back to 1919 for another example of the confiscation, or destruction, of the property of aliens in the United States. The prohibition amendment to the Constitution in 1919 destroyed the property of British and other foreigners who had invested heavily in American brewing and whiskey companies. There is no redress for them, and we should like to see what would happen to any foreign government which might have the effrontery to ask Uncle Sam to refund the losses he has inflicted on its citizens by the exercise of his police power in the interest of temperance. It is not, however, necessary to confine our investigation to the practices of the United States in this matter. If we go overseas we find that no one questions the right of the German Government to levy a capital tax upon the private property of individuals or companies whether they be aliens or alien-owned and so to confiscate a large slice of their property without redress.

Even more striking are two recently recorded decisions of the British Court of Appeals regarding the confiscation of British property by those arch-confiscators the Soviets. In the case of an English company which purchased lumber in Russia it decided that that company had no cause for redress because its property was confiscated by the Soviet Government without compensation and resold. The court asked itself whether the act of confiscation was "in its nature so immoral and so contrary to the principles of justice . . . that the courts . . . are not to pay any attention to it." The court decided that the Soviet Government was well within its rights. In delivering his judgment Justice Scrutton said that at present British citizens who might be contributing to the state one-half of their income in income tax and super tax, and would have to give a large proportion of their capital in death duties and had the fear of a capital levy hanging over their heads, could hardly consider that sovereign state immoral which considered that it was right for it to vest *all* individual property in the state. Subsequently this same British court held that the holders of Russian state bonds could not attach in England gold rubles taken from the reserves of the former Russian Government, although that gold reserve had under the old regime been mortgaged to the holders of Russian notes.

Now, we admit it is true that these cases were affected by the fact that the British Government had recognized the Soviet Government. We submit, however, that the principle is not affected by a mere question of recognition. If it is morally wrong for General Obregon or the Soviets to confiscate property when not recognized, it is, if anything, a more serious offense to confiscate it when the favor of recognition has been conferred. If the sacredness of private property is the foundation stone of all government and of our civilization we cannot see how this bolshevistic English court can escape the execration of mankind by skulking behind recognition, which is, after all, merely the exercise of judgment by an administrative official who may or may not be affected by political or commercial considerations. So if we soon go to war with Mexico it will be to prove for all time the sacredness of American-owned private property wherever it is. For that we have the ships, we have the men, we have the money, too. We trust that no one will complain if in the process of establishing the principle of the safety of exported capital abroad, the capital of each and every one of us at home is decreased or in part confiscated in the interest of the man who put his money beyond the border. Finally, let it be clearly understood that *The Nation* repeats, in the face of the Administration's prayerful consideration of the sacredness of American property abroad, its belief that Mexico has the right "to adopt a 'confiscatory policy' if she chooses," provided she treats everybody alike; and that if she took every blessed oil well and every American-owned acre in Mexico it would still not call for the shedding of a single drop of American or Mexican blood.

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Law-and-Order Anarchy

IN the State of Texas during June nine persons were kidnapped by bands of citizens and tarred and feathered. During the week of July 18-25 at least eight more, one of them a woman, were subjected to the same indignity. In Miami, Florida, a British subject, archdeacon of the Episcopal church, was similarly treated because he was said to have advocated social equality between Negroes and whites. The British Government has declined to take action in the matter. Cecil Harmsworth, Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs, is quoted as saying in the House of Commons: "I am confident the United States authorities will take such steps as may be necessary to see that justice is done without representations from His Majesty's Government." It is profoundly humiliating to be compelled to voice our conviction, based on similar occurrences in the past, that the United States authorities will do no such thing. The Ku Klux Klan, the 100-per-cent Americans, the American Legion all conduct their kidnapping or horsewhipping or tar-and-feathering parties with impunity. It has even been charged, notably by Judge Hamilton, of Texas, that the fault lies not with the law but in the laxity of the persons whose duty is to enforce it. Again and again, in lawless outbreaks of this sort, no persons have been arrested, although the victim was able to recognize his persecutors, and there is at least one case—that of a Texan who had been horsewhipped for alleged cruelty to his wife—in which no action was taken by the jury except to return three indictments against the victim. On one of the latest of these occasions, namely the tarring and feathering of two citizens of Deweyville, Texas, the "Beaumont local of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan" assumed responsibility for the affair in the newspapers.

Texas and Florida are, of course, not the only States in which lawlessness prevails. In Massachusetts, in Pennsylvania, in South Dakota, in California, to mention only a few, the same sort of thing goes on. Homes of foreigners are burned, Japanese are "deported," men are tarred and feathered. This is exclusive of actual lynchings, of which the Department of Records and Research of Tuskegee Institute reports 36 in the first six months of 1921, as against 12 during the corresponding period of 1920. The outstanding fact in almost every one of these cases is that nothing is ever done about it. The law continues to be defied and the vast majority of American citizens to ignore all such happenings. From time to time more or less feeble attempts are made to rectify matters by passing a law. Thus it is reported that the House Judiciary Committee "is considering" an anti-lynching law introduced by Representative Dyer, of Missouri—an excellent bill, by the way, which might do much to remedy the situation if it were passed. It is expected, however, that Southern members will filibuster against it if it ever reaches the House. Again a resolution requesting that a bill providing penalties for persons "disguising themselves and violating the laws of the State by inflicting punishment upon persons against whom no legal complaint had been filed" be submitted to the Texas Legislature, has been presented to Governor Neff. The bill is aimed at the Ku Klux Klan, but as yet no action has been taken on it.

This sort of thing has gone on in America for two hundred years. Of late it has become worse instead of better. And why not? After four years of war, of spread-head atrocities on behalf of civilization and democracy on the front page of every newspaper, what wonder that violence should become the order of the day? War is organized, legalized mob action; the present mob action is only the more dangerous because it is unorganized and illegal. And there is another phase to the situation which is even harder to combat: Mob action is immensely enjoyable for everyone taking part but the victim, who, after all, cannot expect much consideration. Schoolboys derive much sport from the more or less harmless torture of a comrade at a fraternity "initiation." There is no doubt that the same spirit actuates the staid business men who dress up in a sheet and, calling themselves Knights of the Invisible Empire, pour tar over the body of a member of the community they dislike and then rip open a feather pillow above the black, sticky, loathsome mess. It 's, like the fraternity party, usually harmless. The victim does not die. Until a majority of the population can be made to see the enormity of mob action in a civilized state, no anti-Ku Klux Klan bills or anti-lynching bills will make any difference. No bills will even be passed. Ninety per cent of the people of the United States are law-abiding and utterly indifferent to the other 10 per cent who, while calling themselves 100 per cent Americans, are deriving amusement from not being law-abiding—by means of tar-and-featherings or by defying the prohibition amendment, perhaps. Until we remedy this major defect we must go on fearing, not the overthrow of the Government by the Reds, but its overthrow by the Red-White-and-Blues.

The Country Doctor Passes

SINCE the days when medicine emerged from priestcraft the country doctor has been mildly glamored with romance. His service and self-denial have won the natural gratitude of his neighbors; the isolation of his calling has averted professional criticism; his ambitionless mediocrity has insulated him from lay jealousy and hostility. Literature has been truthfully kind to him. Balzac and Sarah Orne Jewett each devoted a novel to the country doctor in settings familiar to them—provincial France, rural New England. Margaret Deland's "Dr. Lavender" is the prototype of the practitioner of fiction, kindly yet shrewd, physician and father confessor, a dependable recipient of his community's faith. Even in the unretouched photography of "Main Street" Dr. Will Kennicott emerges as the most decent character of them all. Good, plodding, unimaginative, he rises in action above the mild caricature of his novelistic environment. The midnight operation in the lonely farm house touches the novel's high point, both of idealism and realism.

Is the country doctor passing in America? Beyond question, yes. Modern invention has greatly diminished the rigors of his existence. A three-hour struggle through a night of blinding storm has become an easy thirty-minute ride in a closed automobile. The telephone saves him no end of useless calls. Yet the very beneficences which material civilization has carried into plain and hills have vicariously sown their seeds of discontent. In modifying the frontier civilization destroys it. The country doctor has always been a frontiersman. Lone, he battled the elemental perils, self-sufficing, adequate, *faute de mieux*, in his field

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of individualistic human enterprise. Specialization and the revolutions in science bore to him the first suggestion of inadequacy. The city, equipped, can do things so much better. The X-Ray machine, the biochemical and bacteriological laboratory, the modern hospital—no longer always totally inaccessible—beckon with a frequently irresistible appeal. Stranded amid the rapids of progress the country doctor is resolving into his primitive components—leech, herb-doctor, bone-setter, midwife. For his lessened hardships he pays dearly in the fatal consciousness of diminished capability.

Throughout the land the country doctors' positions are becoming vacant. A small Massachusetts township—open country, widely separated farms, cross-roads with their huddled dwellings—is compelled to offer a $500 annuity to the physician in the hope of luring some one to settle there. A New York village advertises that the public health fees amount to $250 annually, that the "former doctor had a large and lucrative practice," and that "another village located three and a half miles to the south is also without a doctor." For the average rural community in the East this means a grave situation. But in the West it has been a chronic condition ever since the country was opened up, and one of the most moving and startling publications of the Children's Bureau paints a picture of the suffering and misery of the frontierswoman to make one hang one's head. The number of preventable deaths in childbirth is appalling, to say nothing of needlessly lost babies and of hideously unnecessary suffering. Montana, Arizona, New Mexico—these are three of the States that bear a most unenviable reputation, where doctors must go fifty and seventy-five miles across country after the call has come, without that nursing assistance deemed so vital in the East. In a single Montana county of 359 mothers who gave birth to children over a short period only 129 were attended by a physician. More than three-fourths had no prenatal care whatever. Fortunately, the passage of the Sheppard-Towner maternity bill by the Senate on July 22, with the approval of the Presidential physician, Dr. Sawyer, means that at last the country is moving to remedy the evils of unattended maternity.

Bad as that situation is, that it is serious in the Empire State appears from the fact that in his annual message of January, 1920, Governor Alfred Smith, of New York, recommended the appointment of State physicians and nurses in rural communities now destitute of medical aid, the State to share the expense and to cooperate with the rural communities. But the legislature paid no attention to the Governor's appeal for this entering wedge in the socialization of the medical profession of America, just as nothing has come of the proposal much mooted in England during the war to do the same with the medical profession in that country. Plainly, the need is becoming so great here that the call for medical missionaries at home will soon compare in urgency with that for medical missionaries in the Near and Far East and India. Once State aid is accepted by the country doctor, will he have to sink his personality still further? Will he then take his place merely as a local and county authority, a health constable, a village veterinarian, *qui nihil humani alienum*, set apart from no human interest, or will he as a member of a great State profession be shifted every four years from city to country, from East to West, from North to South, like an army officer on his tours of duty or a Methodist clergyman?

From Heat to Herrick

THIS blazing August on the heels of a pitiless July has no real terrors for the man or woman who knows Herrick and can turn even from our most torrid cities to the meadows and brooks and hawthorn-guarded cottages of Herrick's dainty Devon. He rises forever with the dawn and summons his perennial Corinna, "sweet Slug-a-bed,"

> To come forth, like the Spring-time, fresh and greene;
> And sweet as Flora.

Love itself cannot inflame his morning worshipers: they walk through the early streets to the woods of May, courting one another exquisitely with all the forms of a ceremonial which Horace might have sung or Watteau painted. Here, in one bright season, are daffodils and violets, primroses and gilliflowers,

> Millions of Lillies mixt with Roses,

tulips, pansies, marigolds, daisies, the cherry and the oak, laurels and cypresses, grapes and strawberries, spring standing side by side with purple harvest and cozy winter. Here are all exquisite scents, new rain on turf and tree, the smoke of quaint poetical sacrifices;

> The smell of mornings milk, and cream;
> Butter of Cowslips mixt with them;
> Of rosted warden, or bak'd peare;

"the flowre of blooming Clove," "Essences of Jessimine," honey just brought in by bees, spiced wines, incomparable possets; the perfumes of youth and love and joy. Here, too, are delicate forms and precious colors, smooth narratives of a hundred rural customs chosen because they fit fine verses, and whimsical pious little odes and graces before meat and thanksgivings and creeds and prayers such as no other poet ever uttered. Where else has adoration better lent itself to union with politeness than in this counsel to children:

> Honour thy Parents; but good manners call
> Thee to adore thy God, the first of all.

Surely something ran in Herrick's veins which was calmer than the hot blood of his kind in general. He laughs at Julia, Sapho, Anthea, Electra, Myrha, Corinna, Perilla, and at himself for having had and lost them; he tricks out his raptures of devotion with the blithest figures of speech:

> Lord, I am like to Misletoe,
> Which has no root, and cannot grow,
> Or prosper, but by that same tree
> It clings about; so I by Thee;

he takes his ease in his country Zion as if it would last eternally and yet amuses himself with cheerful epitaphs for himself and with advice to his pretty mourners. He could be passionate enough about his calling; but he saw his world as images of marble, as pictures of gold set in silver, as charming ancient stories come to life again yet still with the dignity of remembered perfectness about them. It is a defense against August to remember the happy commentary upon Herrick which Dryden wrote when he imitated the lines to Perilla—

> Then shall my Ghost not walk about, but keep
> Still in the coole, and silent shades of sleep—

in that admirable invitation to another cool world:

> When, tired with following nature, you think fit
> To seek repose in the cool shades of wit.

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Dyeing for One's Country

By ARTHUR WARNER

BIG Business may not have shown great alacrity to die for its country in time of war, but it is evening up by unbounded enthusiasm to dye for it now that we are at peace. The theory of protection for industry, as it has existed heretofore in America, has been to assist a domestic business to compete against a foreign one in our markets by placing a customs duty on imports of the outside product. Expensive as this may have been for the consumer, it has at any rate permitted him to have the foreign article if willing to pay the price, and has allowed the alien producer to compete if he could in spite of the handicap imposed. That was the old protection. In the Fordney tariff we were asked to advance to a super-protection demanding for one industry, at least, the total elimination of foreign competition. The new tariff measure provided for an embargo for three years upon all foreign dyes except where the Tariff Commission ruled that a desired sort was not obtainable here; and this clause, barely defeated by a vote of 209 to 193, is sure to be re-presented.

Behind this extraordinary demand is a chain of facts even more astonishing. The first link was the liquidation during war time of the German chemical interests in America by the Alien Property Custodian. This was accompanied by the seizure of their patents. Both actions were contrary to accepted international usage, which sanctions the temporary holding but not the destruction of the property rights of individuals in time of war. The next step was still more amazing. The bulk of these patents—some 4,500—were then transferred at private sale for a nominal $250,000 to the Chemical Foundation, a newly organized corporation surrounded with a halo of scientific and patriotic unselfishness but in fact owned by various commercial interests. The Chemical Foundation grants the right to use these patents by issuing non-exclusive licenses "to manufacturers *whose Americanism and competence are unquestioned.*" The italics are mine, but the words are from the prospectus of the Foundation and reveal potentialities for restriction and favoritism, even though they may not actually have been practiced. Finally, the Foundation awarded its presidency to Francis P. Garvan who, first as head of the Bureau of Investigation of the Alien Property Custodian and later as Alien Property Custodian himself, had pulled the strings for the Punch and Judy show throughout! Having thus obtained a potential monopoly in the United States, the Chemical Foundation now asks us gullible Americans to make its future as sure as death or taxes by granting an embargo against foreign competition. Not all the material for comic opera was known to Gilbert and Sullivan.

How is it possible, one asks, for such a sequence of events to take place virtually unnoticed and, until recently, unopposed? The answer is in one word: patriotism. The shareholders of the Chemical Foundation purpose to dye (at a handsome profit, of course, but keep that quiet) for their country. The material interests opposed to the scheme have mostly been tarred with German nationality or connections, while the public has been inflated with propaganda to the effect that the manufacture of dyes is a "key industry," essential to the training of a corps of skilled chemists and the development of a business that, in case of war, can immediately be turned into the making of explosives and man-killing gases. As a fact, there are dozens of industries more vital in either war or peace than that of aniline dyes. Dr. Charles L. Reese, chemical director of the Du Pont Company, in speaking before the Cotton Manufacturers' Association in 1918 (before the blessings of a monopoly by embargo had been thought of), said:

> There has also been much talk in the papers with regard to the wonderful advantage Germany had on account of her extensive dye industry, in that she could immediately turn all the great dye plants into munition factories. I do not consider that the presence of the factories themselves was a matter of very great importance to the Germans. . . .
>
> Now what were the *conditions in this country*? There was no dye industry of any great magnitude, but there was a well-organized explosive industry with a well-organized chemical organization. . . .
>
> The first effect of the Great War was to call upon this organization to meet problems which seemed to be almost as insolvable as those presented by the dye situation, since many of the raw materials necessary for the manufacture of munitions had been secured from Europe, just as the dyes had been. This organization, however, was able to meet the situation in such a short time that the want of these materials did not occasion a day's delay in the production of powder.

Thus it appears that even if this generation is to spend the rest of its days preparing to kill and to be killed in the "next war," there is no need to be especially tender toward the makers of aniline dyes.

Probably, if it hadn't been for Sir William Perkin, the issue would never have arisen. He picked the fruit from the Tree of Knowledge back in 1856 when, in trying to make quinine by oxidizing aniline, he produced a mauve solution, the first synthetic dye. The development that followed is one of the most fascinating stories in modern industrialism. Other colors were rapidly created by chemical means. The madder fields of France were plowed under and chemical dyes (made in Germany) were used even to redden the trousers of French soldiers. Royal purple, hitherto obtainable only in small drops from a shellfish in the eastern Mediterranean, became so cheap that cats as well as kings might wear it, while the indigo crop of India, which in 1897 was worth $20,000,000, had shrunk by 1914 to a value of $300,000.

Although the making of dyes from coal tar was discovered by an Englishman, development of the industry passed to Germany. By 1914 the Germans were manufacturing more than three-fourths of the world's consumption of coal-tar products and were providing the basic materials for most of the rest. They were supplying America with nine-tenths of its dyes, of which as many as 900 different kinds were imported in appreciable quantities.

The British control of the sea ended this situation when the European War began. Dyes mounted to fabulous prices in the United States. At that time there were only seven firms, employing 528 persons, engaged in dye making in this country. Patriotic devotion (as the manufacturers insist) or the stimulus of rich profits (as infidels hint) led to a speedy and enormous growth of the industry. By 1917 our exports of home-made dyes exceeded in value that of our imports before the war. In 1914 the American dye product

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was valued at $2,500,000; in 1919 it was worth $67,000,000; in 1920 exports alone were rated at $25,000,000; in the first three months of the current year $40,000,000 in new capital was put into the field. The vice-president of the Du Pont Company has said that its profits were greater in 1918 than during thirty-two previous years combined; that after giving $2,000,000 to the Red Cross, and buying heavily of Liberty Bonds, the company still made $129,000,000 net.

This is the "infant industry" which, fondled first by the War Trade Board and then dandled by the "emergency tariff" act, now asks that the embargo against foreign competition become a settled policy. The dye makers say that the existing tariff of about 30 per cent is useless. If cut adrift with only that weak anchor, they declare fearfully that the great German cartel will not hesitate at huge losses in competing with the American industry, plant by plant or color by color, until it has wrecked the whole. This competition seems to have been developed lately in order to bolster up the present demand for an indefinite embargo. When A. Mitchell Palmer, as Alien Property Custodian, reported to Congress in regard to the Chemical Foundation and his sale to it of German patents, he said "the institution will be able to protect the American industry for a considerable period, and this should be all it needs. It appears to be the universal view of the more competent manufacturers in this country that, given five years of freedom from German competition, the American industry can hold its own."

In this same report Mr. Palmer explains that the Chemical Foundation is not a profit-making enterprise (although its stock is held by companies that are decidedly that). According to early announcements the stock was to be held, as Mr. Palmer put it, by "practically every important American manufacturer." The Foundation is capitalized at $500,000, of which half has been set aside, according to Mr. Palmer, "to commence immediately and prosecute with the utmost vigor infringement proceedings whenever the first German attempt shall hereafter be made to import into this country." The other half, as stated earlier, was paid to the Government for the German patents. Of this curious sale Mr. Palmer says: "The price thus paid was necessarily determined somewhat arbitrarily"; and he adds airily, "the great majority of the patents were presumably valueless."

In a frank talk with me in which he furnished every detail asked for in regard to the stockholders and management of the Chemical Foundation, Mr. Garvan pointed out that the organization was not monopolistic because it did not issue exclusive licenses under any of its patents but granted their use for a small consideration to all applicants. The royalties asked were only 5 to 10 per cent of the selling price of the product, and the total royalties realized from domestic manufacturers by the Foundation during 1919, 1920, and the first three months of this year were only $73,789.16. Mr. Garvan said further that the importance of the German patents had been overestimated, since not more than 10 per cent of our dyes were manufactured under them. Of the 4,500 German patents held by the Foundation, the use of only 413 has so far been asked for.

The control of the Foundation rests entirely in the common stock, which represents $100,000 of the total capital of $500,000. No one interest can hold more than two $100 shares. Only 240 shares have actually been issued, to 165 holders. The administration of the patents is in the hands of a board of five trustees, self-continuing until the last patent expires, which will be in fourteen years.

Mr. Garvan's statements make it evident that the Foundation has not in fact abused its powers, but there seems to be fair ground for the assertion that it possesses a monopoly, since public property was granted to it, a private corporation, on terms which make abuse possible. Moreover, it is apparent that under an embargo the American dye industry would have a monopoly of the domestic field against international competition.

How does it happen that manufacturers requiring cheap and good dyes, particularly makers of textiles, have not protested against this attempt to establish a dye monopoly which will certainly increase their costs and probably foist upon them inferior materials? It is a case of "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours." The same legislation that provides for an embargo on foreign dyes also contains tariff protection for textile makers. Nevertheless objections have been made. The great Amoskeag mills are in opposition to a dye monopoly, while Joseph S. Rambo, president of Rambo and Regar, has said:

> There are at least three [domestic] large manufacturers of direct black, which today brings from 80 cents to 90 cents a pound and is about half the strength of the concentrated pre-war product which sold at not more than 25 cents. Methyl violet, of which there are many manufactures, today is selling for about $1.75, and is approximately the same grade as pre-war goods at 32 cents. Acid black is today selling for $1 to $1.10, and is slightly better than half the strength of the concentrated pre-war imported product at 26 cents. Indigo, one of the most important colors, is today about 60 cents, against a pre-war net price of from 15 to 16 cents. When we consider that the domestic production of these colors in 1919, as given by the United States Tariff Commission, was: Methyl violet, 574,000 pounds; acid black, 1,800,000 pounds; direct black, 7,250,000 pounds, and indigo, 8,800,000 pounds, one can readily understand that the textile man's dyestuff costs have tremendously increased.
>
> Take a hosiery mill which dyes silk and cotton stockings. Before the war it used about six pounds of Zambesi Black B, at 30 cents, for dyeing 100 pounds of hosiery. Now, if it feels it can afford a black of the same character, it probably would use the domestic product at $2 per pound, which is about 20 per cent weaker. In other words, a pre-war cost for dyeing of $1.80 per hundred, as against a present cost of $15, or an advance of about $13 per hundred pounds. Now a mill dyeing a thousand pounds of hosiery per day is not at all exceptional, and its increased cost on this basis for dyestuffs alone would be $130 per day, $650 per week of only five days, or approximately $34,000 per year.

Opposition to a dye monopoly and the methods of the Chemical Foundation has also appeared in Congress. In a speech on May 9 Senator Moses (Republican) of New Hampshire charged that the youthful and anemic dye industry had spent $104,932 for "legislative expenditures" in 1920, maintaining "one of the most highly organized, best paid, and arrogant lobbies that the Capitol has ever seen." Some $50,000 went as fees, he said, half to Joseph H. Choate, Jr., general counsel of the Chemical Foundation, the rest to Judge J. Harry Covington who left the Federal bench to work for the dye interests; while by last accounts $21,000 was still owing to Mr. Choate. According to Senator Moses, Mr. Choate "has spent no inconsiderable part of his time roaming about the country addressing parlor meetings of ladies in advocacy of national defense to be obtained by giving his clients an absolute monopoly in the dyestuffs market of America." Senator Moses might have added that Mr. Choate's pen has also

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been busy. In the *Nation's Business* for June, for instance, is an article by him entitled Key Industries at Any Cost!

Senator King (Republican) of Utah joined in the attack, asking for a special committee to investigate the activities of various lobbies in connection with Congressional legislation. The matter was referred to a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, consisting of Senators Cummins, Sterling, and Walsh. In the House on July 5, Representative Frear (Republican) of Wisconsin condemned the dye embargo thus:

> During the war an American dye business of enormous proportions grew up over night like a mushroom, extracting unconscionable war profits from the American public. For six years it has enjoyed a complete embargo against all foreign dye competition. The American dye industry is now controlled by the Chemical Foundation that represents over a half billion dollars in assets. This trust now demands a continuation of the war embargo so that dye prices, still maintained at several times pre-war prices, may be continued indefinitely without danger of competition, while the ultimate consumer pays the bill.

That large sums have been spent to create aniline Americanism is admitted by Mr. Garvan, formerly Alien Property Custodian and now president of the Chemical Foundation. In an interview printed in the New York *World* he is quoted as saying that the Foundation had forwarded "many thousands of books and pamphlets dealing with chemistry to the leading colleges, public and private schools, boards of trade, chambers of commerce, civic organizations including women's clubs, financiers, and business men generally." That this propaganda interested (possibly beguiled) many persons is evident from Mr. Garvan's further remark that in response to this sowing of words the Foundation had received more than 10,000 letters.

To build up industry by tariffs, embargoes, and monopolies is admitted by all students to be economically unsound. That it may nevertheless be desirable from political or social considerations is arguable. But if on this score we were to subsidize an industry (which is what a protective policy comes to) the community ought first to control that industry, to the end that its money should go for its own purposes and not be diverted into the coffers of private business. By any other arrangement we would be buying a pig in a poke.

Taxation or Confiscation in Mexico

By E. J. DILLON

TWO interesting illustrations of Mexico's entanglements are worth recording. They show how defenseless she is before her great northern neighbor and how incumbent it is on this neighbor to use its strength sparingly and in accordance with the promptings of reason and humanity. Today General Obregon as President of the Republic has but one sheet anchor of salvation—the consciousness that his policy is based on justice and the hope that interest no less than principle may impel the present business-like Administration of the United States to give him the requisite time to unfold it.

Hampered by a heavy foreign debt for the settlement of which creditors and politicians are daily clamoring, the Obregon Cabinet is at its wit's end to find the wherewithal to pay the interest. And unless it can hit upon some happy device, the country will soon fall under an international financial as well as an American moral tutelage. Usually necessitous governments have the choice between taxation and a loan. But Mexico is an exception. Not yet recognized by the only country able to lend her money her rulers are obliged to obtain a contribution to the service of the foreign debt by taxing what will bear taxation. And that is oil. There is no other way. Accordingly General Obregon has recently increased the tax on oil produced in the country by an average, it is computed, of 25 per cent and decreed that the proceeds shall not be swept into the bottomless pit of wasteful expenditure, but shall be applied exclusively to making payments on the foreign debt. This measure is gall and wormwood to the companies which will have to pay the augmented impost. Their representatives in Washington are said to have immediately made preparations to call the attention of the State Department to the decree which they regard as "virtual confiscation," and therefore a crime in international law. It is even reported that its effect on Mexico's outlook in the negotiations now going forward between the two governments will be distinctly prejudicial.

President Obregon, with whom I exchanged views on the general as well as the concrete question, contemplates it from the same angle of vision as did Russia's eminent financier, the late Count Witte. His opinion may be summarized as follows. Taxation is an essentially democratic measure. It furthers the interest of labor which has a right to demand that as large a share as is safely possible of indispensable public expenditure shall be defrayed by taxes on capital. Today this is eminently true of the Mexican state which sorely needs money wherewith to heal the wounds inflicted by ten years of anarchy and to undertake reforms without which the state cannot long subsist. And at present money can be had only within the boundaries of the Republic. None of the ordinary devices are of avail. Economy presupposes a fairly well-filled exchequer—a boon which Mexico has not enjoyed since the days of Limantour. Moreover thrift, however stringently practiced, would contribute nothing toward the service of the foreign debt, seeing that the pinch of penury is felt in all departments. And at the moment when more money is required than ever before all hopes of a foreign loan are coincidently barred by what may be termed the triple alliance of American, British, and French bankers, which has imposed on Mexico a politico-financial boycott.

The only way to ease even partially a situation like this which is as painful as it is dangerous is taxation, and to this expedient every country in the world is having abundant recourse today. Indeed in some progressive states taxation has been raised to a level not far removed from confiscation. In others, as in Germany and Sweden, the governments have compelled the great industries to admit them as partners with a right to a share of the profits. Against these innovations private corporations and individuals have murmured but in no case have their respective governments ventured to protest on their behalf. For they are all in the same boat. Necessity knows no law but that of justice, and it is recognized as a principle that if all

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the industries of a class are equally liable to a tax the demands of justice are satisfied. And if it be objected that in the case under consideration the industries in question are all owned by English-speaking foreigners who regard it as an unfriendly act, Mexicans would retort that the possession of one privilege does not entitle the holder to claim another. Natives and foreigners are alike subjected to the new tax.

There are however other ways of looking at the matter. Every country is entitled and every government morally obliged in the interests of its citizens to adopt protective measures in the form of export dues on those natural resources which once exhausted can never be replenished. And no foreign state, however painfully its nationals may be hit, can fairly oppose the levy of such a tribute. Unhappily for themselves many countries have failed to exercise that right and their respective governments have neglected to perform the corresponding duty, and the consequences which ensued are writ large today in the decay of industry and commerce, the plague of chronic unemployment, the unrest—in some lands the revolt—of labor, and general discontent. The twenty-eight millions of workers in England who today are dependent for their living on doles meted out by the state are currently supposed to be strike victims. But one would not be far wrong if one sought for the origin of their pauperism in the improvidence of their rulers who made no provision for the lean years which they ought to have known were coming.

Today statesmen vainly deplore the shortsightedness of their predecessors who allowed the most precious resources with which nature had endowed their country to be brought to market and disposed of, so to say, for a mess of pottage to the foreigner who built fleets, railways, and established lucrative industries with the proceeds of the transaction. If an importing country is earning, say, a 1,000 per cent profit on a product, is it meet that the country which owns it should be forced to do with 10 or 20 per cent? In favor of such a contention there is nothing to be urged.

Examples are many and instructive. For nearly half a century Great Britain squandered the coal on which her world status depended, selling it at absurdly low rates to foreign peoples who were thus enabled to establish new industries or to renovate old ones and to compete with her successfully in the markets of the world. From 238,000 tons sold out of the United Kingdom in the year 1816 the total exportation rose to 1,606,000 in the year 1840, to 15,495,000 in 1878, to 76,382,000 in 1906, and to 80,366,000 in the year 1914. If England had imposed an export duty of, say, $9 on that coal her miners would have had a decent living wage; so too would the sailors who manned the ships that carried it to Singapore, Piraeus, and other foreign ports; the mine-owners would have had larger profits and the country generally would have benefited. Instead of that the workers were during that long period ill paid, badly housed, and chronically embittered against the upper classes, while the Scandinavian countries, Greece, Russia, and other states were enabled to build merchant fleets and establish a flourishing carrying trade at the expense of England. Further, she picked the very best product of her coal measures for the home and foreign markets, leaving the inferior coal to be mined later at enormous cost. England likewise parted with her excellent iron ore for about two pounds sterling a ton, whereas now she is paying three pounds a ton for iron ore which she is compelled to import from Sweden. In the year 1819 the amount of iron ore sold and exported to foreign parts was but 73,000 tons. In the year 1853 the total had risen to 1,261,000 tons. In the year 1890 it amounted to 4,001,000 and in 1907 to 5,152,000. And it never occurred to any of the various governments which discharged the functions of the nation's trustees to levy an export tax on one of the nation's main assets. Today the iron ore has to be purchased from Scandinavia and one of England's chief resources is gone irretrievably.

The United States dealt and is still dealing in a like thriftless way with certain of her natural resources, such for instance as her forests. Estimates made by the American Paper and Pulp Association, which are admittedly somewhat crude, compute the forests still existing in the United States at between 500,000,000 and 550,000,000 acres. Originally, however, the country possessed a forest area of no less than from 850,000,000 to 900,000,000 acres. And at the present rate of consumption the stand of matured timber in the United States will be exhausted within fifty years! Only a drastic and speedy reafforestation policy can save the nation from this disastrous consummation.

It was those magnificent forests and the trades and industries to which they gave rise that enabled railways, steamships, and flourishing marts to be constructed. The city of Seattle, for instance, is an offshoot of the splendid forests which are fast vanishing and of the mines which are approaching the point of exhaustion, and when these will have ceased to repay the cost of exploitation and nothing remains but agricultural produce, the effects will be sinister, durable, and far-reaching. The timber sold to the foreigner did not fetch more than one-quarter of its intrinsic value, the remaining three-quarters going to enrich countries overseas.

Similar remarks are applicable to the low prices which ruled for oil, iron, and copper. Again the United States sold its crude oil for $1 a barrel, out of which the producer received from fifty to eighty cents. The average price for some forty years hardly exceeded $1 a barrel. Today it has risen to nearly $3. And according to the most competent geologists half of the oil in the United States is already exhausted. Germany bought large quantities of American oil and for some thirty years she imported from various countries perhaps fifty million barrels annually. Her industrial corporations refined it at large profits and manufactured various other articles out of the by-products. The average price was one dollar for a barrel and the Germans sold the gasoline, vaseline, saccharine, paraffin, perfumes, and about two hundred products in all at a price equal to $20 the barrel.

In a like thriftless but strictly constitutional way the United States parted with its copper at the rate of $200 a ton, Germany being a large buyer. She took over a hundred thousand tons of copper a year—before the war the average price between 1890 and 1911 being not more than ten cents a pound. During the war it rose to forty-two cents. In order to give to Germany that copper at ten cents a pound the railways had to carry it from Montana to the sea for $8 a ton. Today the freight is double that.

A cognate if less apt illustration is afforded by the trade in cotton. The United States, with a practical monopoly of cotton, disposed of the crops during long decades at the rate of from five to eight cents a pound, a price rendered possible only because of cheap labor in the South. This money did not allow the laborers a sufficient living wage,

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the owners a fair return, nor the railway companies adequate pay for carrying it to market. What could and should have been done was to levy an export duty on the produce, raise the wages of the agricultural laborer, and oblige the foreigner to whom an exorbitant and unearned share of the value was accruing to contribute to the well-being of the country and the people who were creating it.

In this fatuous way the English-speaking races went on lavishing the natural resources of their countries on the foreigner and compelling or allowing their own people to dissipate its wealth to enrich strangers overseas. Today the best copper and silver mines of the United States and the best coal measures of England are well-nigh exhausted, the industries of the latter country are, to put it mildly, on the wane, and the labor situation generally is disorganized.

Now, is it unreasonable in itself or tantamount to an unfriendly act toward foreigners for the President of Mexico, who has the interests of his country at heart, to profit by the mistakes of the British and the Yankees? He does not think so, nor does he believe that the great English-speaking nations entertain any such opinion. Mexico's oil, mines, and forests constitute her greatest economic asset and also, unluckily, her heaviest political curse. And to allow these resources to be carried out of the country in the improvident way in which England and the United States permitted them to be exported would today be a crime and a disaster.

The sharp polemic now going on between the press of Mexico and that of the United States on this question of taxation is confused by the smuggling into it of political issues. The essence of the matter would seem to be whether or no the increased tax is confiscatory. If the reply is in the negative, there is no objection derived from international law which will hold against it. And that is the stand taken by the Mexican Government. Of course if it could be shown conclusively not merely that production will sensibly fall off in consequence, but that the oil industry as a whole will become unprofitable, there should and would be no hesitation on the part of the Mexican Administration to temper the wind to the shorn sheep. For no government, and least of all one that needs money as badly as does that of Mexico, would be fatuous enough to commit economic suicide by cutting off the main source of its existence. What confiscation would be to the foreign oil companies would spell bankruptcy and ruin to the Mexican state. Taxation to the point of confiscation carries its own remedy. In this case one has but to conjure up in one's mind's eye a picture of the oil companies abandoning work because it had been made unprofitable, and the obstinacy of the Mexican Government in maintaining it and dispensing with its principal source of revenue to realize how fantastic is the idea.

Mexicans urge that today oil is being extracted and exported at a rate calculated to alarm the nation's trustees. It is a repetition of what England did with her coal and iron ore and the United States with its timber. Immense fortunes have been and are being made and taken away by foreigners, few abiding traces of which are left in the land. So considerable are the quantities of Mexican oil at present imported into the United States that voices have been uplifted here calling for an import duty on it. Now why, it is asked, should a foreign government as well as foreign corporations draw enormous gains from a product which yields relatively inadequate profits to the country in which it is found? If it can bear an increase of taxation—and this is admitted by all—why should the government which contributes nothing to the exploitation be the beneficiary? Again, it cannot be asserted that there is any international law which forbids a government to regulate in the interests of the community the exploitation of natural produce or even manufactured commodities. Every state is at liberty to put in force such measures for the purpose as it deems called for. Examples of the exercise of this right during and since the war are numerous, and for the protection of a source of wealth which can never be replenished the right is unassailable.

From the fiscal point of view the arguments that favor the Mexican position are forcible. There is something peculiarly revolting in the contention that a nation should go to rack and ruin for lack of the funds requisite to carry on the government of the country when that country is teeming with wealth. And Mexico thinks she can discern a regrettable touch in the policy of a powerful neighbor which presses her to pay her debts, yet closes to her all avenues to credit throughout the globe and by way of crowning the work disputes her right to raise part of the money by taking her full share of the resources which she herself possesses at home. A more stringent boycott, a more deadly grip, they say, it would be difficult to imagine.

General Obregon's exposé of the motives for the increase of taxation is masterly and convincing. The tax, he argues, is not discriminating against the foreigner in favor of the native. The Constitution of Mexico, against which so much has been written, is the foreigners' best protection, for it forbids both exemption and discrimination. Mexico, he further argues, has been aptly termed the treasure house of the world. Incalculable wealth lies hidden in its mountains, plains, and valleys. Enormous fortunes have been made by foreigners in extracting part of that wealth. Yet 90 per cent of the native population is vegetating in poverty, squalor, disease, and ignorance because this stream of riches flows by without touching them. "Common humanity dictated a change and it is this change that Mexico has made. We stand today on the principle that the natural resources of a nation belong to the nation."

Those are the words of a man whose love of justice is a passion and for whom the service of humanity is a cult. I traveled through most states of the Republic with him and I can bear out what he advances respecting the piteous condition of the nation whose mineral wealth is fabulous. That condition is a blot on humanity. It is intolerable, and no man capable of enduring it, whether on principle or expediency, deserves to stand at the head of the ill-starred Mexican people.

Contributors to This Issue

E. J. DILLON, who contributed the striking article on Alvaro Obregon and His Policy for *The Nation* of July 20 and who writes again on Mexican affairs in this issue, is one of the most distinguished of European journalists.

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RICHARD ROBERTS is pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, and a distinguished writer upon public affairs.

AMY LOWELL, the best-known poet of the Imagist school, is also one of the leading American critics of poetry.

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The Outcome in Upper Silesia

By W. E. NASH

FIVE-CORNERED wars are rare in history, yet a conflict of that kind really seems to have taken place in Upper Silesia this summer. No belligerent party quite agreed with any other and each desired a different solution. Were it not for the general exhaustion of Europe a new world war might easily have resulted, in which the *entente cordiale* between Great Britain and France would have been split open beyond repair. This catastrophe was nearer than most people realized; indeed, all danger is not yet past, for Poland and Germany are still glowering at each other across the frontier and are backed in their plots by the rival policies of France and England. Moreover Austria, Hungary, and the Balkans are vitally interested in the Silesian question because a large part of their coal supply comes from that territory. Without exaggeration it can be said that this is the most important region in Central Europe. A heavy responsibility will rest on the shoulders of the Prime Ministers of England, France, and Italy when they meet to decide its ultimate fate.

On May 3, 1921, miners and peasants of Polish descent, clad in tattered working clothes and led by one of their own countrymen, Adalbert Korfanty, flared up in rebellion at the rumor that Upper Silesia was to be given to Germany. Whatever may be said about the justice of their cause or about the advisability of allowing a minority to dictate to a majority, there can be little doubt that these simple Polish workers were animated by a real hatred of the Prussian, generated by decades of past mistreatment. Their plans succeeded with startling rapidity. Mines, pitheads, factories, and villages, which stud the flat, thickly inhabited countryside of the industrial area, fell into their hands without a fight. Moreover, in the rolling agricultural districts further to the westward they were met not by Allied troops, who had sworn a solemn oath to maintain order in Upper Silesia, but by improvised German bands as heterogeneous as themselves. Neither side was well armed; neither had heavy cannon, poison gases, or airplanes. No systematic trench lines were dug, as during the Great War. Nevertheless, a sanguinary little struggle of skirmish parties, fitful in the daytime but desperate at night, did result and did cause many casualties. A front line tended to stabilize itself along the river Oder. The roads both great and small were commanded by earthworks and machine-guns. No one was allowed to pass without special military permission. So matters stood about May 21.

Meantime the attitude of the Allies had been developing in a significant manner. Ten thousand French troops adopted a benevolent or passive behavior toward the Poles, giving them free rein wherever possible, and retiring from all garrison posts save the large cities of Kattowitz, Beuthen, Tarnowitz, Gleiwitz, and Hindenburg. In the last-named city they allowed the insurgents to commit revolting outrages on defenseless German refugees, while in the other cities they maintained only a very poor show of protecting German lives and German property. Poles were allowed to arm themselves for battle, but it meant death or imprisonment for a German to be caught defending his home with weapons in his hand. Only when German defense bands began to form along the banks of the Oder did the French wake up to the seriousness of the situation and, forgetting entirely which side had begun the rebellion, see fit to fill the world with cries of a new German military menace.

Three thousand Italians, on the other hand, who had come to Upper Silesia to assist in police work, did their duty nobly. They resisted insurgent aggression and did not hesitate to fire on disturbers of the peace. Over twenty-five Italian soldiers were killed in conflicts with the Poles in the districts of Pless and Rybnik. The other Allied nation represented in Upper Silesia, namely Great Britain, had no troops in the country when the trouble began save a dozen or two officers engaged in administration work. These latter soon found themselves in a position of great humiliation. When they attempted to act impartially and protect Germans from violence, as all Allies had sworn to do, their orders were ignored by French troops. They were treated as a negligible quantity by the Poles. One officer, a certain Major Creacy, was backed up against a wall and threatened with death; another, Major Powel, was arrested for traveling without a Polish pass; while Majors Crichton and Bond were several times threatened with violence.

These and other incidents caused a feeling of intense bitterness between British and Italians on one side and French on the other. The English accused the French of double dealing and bad faith, the French the British of pro-Germanism. The colonel second in command of the British contingent told the writer that if he had had his way he would have broken openly with the French. Other British officers sent such vehement reports to London that Lloyd George was induced to make a startling Silesian speech in the House of Commons on May 13, wherein he issued sundry veiled warnings to France and open ones to Poland and the Polish insurgents. Italian and British officers almost ceased to associate with Frenchmen in the tortuous streets of Oppeln, the animated little country town that serves as the capital of Upper Silesia.

Meantime public opinion in Poland and Germany became more and more excited. Every sort of equipment was sent from Warsaw to Korfanty's soldiers, while volunteers from Bavaria, the Austrian Tyrol, and German Bohemia flocked to the *Selbstschutz* ranks. The Poles concentrated in the north, captured the town of Rosenberg, and pressed on through the woods toward Kreuzburg. The Germans appointed Von Hoefer, a famous general of the old regime, as their commander. On May 25 about 2,000 Bavarians burst loose from the small bridgehead of Gogolin on the left bank of the Oder, overcame Polish resistance in some near-by lime kilns, and advanced about fifteen miles inland. Their impetus was so great that a small party of sixty men, armed with hand-grenades and knives, captured the stronghold of the Annaberg, which if well defended should have been able to hold out against an army. Much booty fell into German hands there. On June 3 Von Hoefer again pressed forward and captured the important strategic points of Kandrzin and Slawentzitz. If not restrained by an Allied ultimatum, there is reason to believe that he could have advanced as far as the industrial area, for all that stood in his way was a French garrison in Gleiwitz.

From May 28 to June 3 British troops under a "hustler" named General Henniker had been arriving in Upper Silesia. It was soon seen that in theoretical cooperation with the French they were to be used to clear a neutral zone between the belligerent parties. One British sergeant was killed by the Poles; three Frenchmen were wounded by the

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Germans. Every time a French contingent went near the German lines it had to be accompanied by a British officer, and the inverse relation held good for British troops and French officers in the Polish lines. How the Allies ever made progress under such conditions remains a mystery, yet it is a fact that little by little they did succeed in pushing back both Poles and Germans. The hard-pressed cities in the industrial area, which though garrisoned by French troops had undergone all the rigors of a merciless siege, were restored to communication with the outside world. Transportation was reopened, the coal trade revived, and a semblance of order restored, though as far as can be ascertained the insurgents were not deprived of their arms.

In the plebiscite which took place on March 20, 1921, the German inhabitants polled approximately 60 per cent of the total number of votes cast, thus gaining a plausible claim to the province as a whole. Their claim was disputed by the French and the Poles, who asserted that the Versailles peace treaty contained provisions for a partition of the territory. In two counties, those of Pless and Rybnik, the Poles gained a large majority. In the territory west and north of the Oder the Germans won "hands down." In the industrial area the result was very close. The easiest solution, therefore, would seem to be to give away the undisputed counties where the vote was decisive and to keep the central area under international control, a plan favored by moderate men of all factions. This would simplify the problem of maintaining order and would guarantee a fair division of the coal output. Unfortunately, however, it meets with unbending hostility on the part of the French leaders. They want to give all the land up to the river Oder, the city of Oppeln, and the county of Kreuzburg to the Poles, on the basis of the following theory: Every commune (township) must be considered as a separate entity. Not the number of individual votes but the number of collective township votes shall determine the victory. Thus if Poland gained sixty townships in the county of Beuthen, totaling 48,000 votes, and Germany six large cities, totaling 50,000 votes, Poland would win, or at least would be entitled to keep all rural communities which declared for her. The other Allies objected to this plan which would make the map of Upper Silesia look like a crazy quilt.

The Supreme Council of Allied Premiers intends to meet during the summer to decide the fate of Upper Silesia. Three solutions lie open to it: (1) The whole country to Germany; (2) Pless and Rybnik to Poland. West bank of the Oder and county of Kreuzburg to Germany. Central, industrial district to remain under Allied control; (3) so-called Korfanty line, giving all the valuable part of the country to Poland.

The first plan is championed by the British, the second by the Italians, and the third by the French, all three, probably, from selfish motives. It is rumored that the British have invested considerable sums of money in German Silesian factories. It is known that Italian bankers have thrown millions of lire into the Polish textile industry. It is suspected that in a treaty recently concluded between France and Poland the French pledged themselves to deliver Upper Silesia into the hands of the Poles in return for valuable concessions in the Galician oil fields. Most students of the situation to whom the writer has talked agree that the second plan stands the best chances of adoption, because it is a compromise between French and British wishes, which both can accept without forfeiting pride or prestige.

Taste and the Man

By LUDWIG LEWISOHN

"IF, then," the professor said, stroking his beard unquietly, "if, then, you allow no standards or certain tests by which the worth of a piece of literature can be established, how are we either to learn or to teach? What are we to study and what are we to transmit as of assured fruitfulness and value?"

"You are, if I may say so," the critic answered thoughtfully, "too proud and too humble at once. You are too proud because you are afraid to spend your time on anything except the perfect and the permanent; you are too humble because you will not let yourself realize that by the exercise of the thought and sensibilities of just such men as you the perfect and permanent is established, is, I had almost said, created."

The professor shook his head. "You go fast. Take up your two points separately. Life is short and feverish. It is not pride that forbids us spending our time on anything but the best."

"The best," the critic repeated slowly. "You work with such hard concepts. There are, I think, several kinds of best. There is, of the one kind, the Pharmaceutria of Vergil. The hexameters are beautiful and liquid beyond description. But as you hear their music you are also a little flattered and sustained in your favorite moods by knowing that it has sounded across so many centuries. You recall, too, that Macaulay thought a certain passage in the poem the loveliest and most moving in Latin poetry. And it is, indeed, charming in itself. But some of its charm is also in the very antiquity of that little lad who sighed for his sweetheart in the orchard. And is not mere antiquity in itself, quite like novelty in itself, an adventitious source of interest though, I should grant you at once, by far the nobler?

The professor smiled. "Your psychology is sound even if it is a little like prying. But I am curious to hear about your other kind of best."

"Let us suppose," the critic said, "that a novel appears with a style and form of but mediocre quality and also, so far as we can see, with little chance of being remembered for many years to come. But let us suppose, further—for it happens every year—that this novel renders and thus clarifies some vital and widespread experience of the men and women who live today so accurately and so closely that life itself is a little changed and its difficulty a little mitigated—would you not recognize there, too, a value of the best kind?"

"But, what has it to do with art?" the professor asked.

"Nothing, if you limit art to a few simple gestures permanently molded. But the majority of men are not connoisseurs of such beauty. Life is, as you said, short and feverish. They do not want to die before they have learned to live."

"Are the classics barren in that respect?"

"No, but insufficient. 'Non omnia possumus omnes.' How true but how cold and general. Also, it is didactic—a maxim pronounced from without. We need experience more than maxims."

The professor shook his head. "It seems to me that we began by talking about one thing and are now talking about

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another. I am acquainted with the modern doctrine of art as expression. I understand it though it means little to me. On the basis of it I am not unwilling to grant you an excellence in literature made up of such elements as you have described. I still desire to know how, without norms or standards, we are to recognize among the works of this or any age those that will be permanent because their beauty will be, like the beauty of the Pharmaceutria, permanently persuasive to the souls of men."

"You want," the critic said, choosing his words carefully, "a recognition before the fact which cannot come because it is not born until after the fact. The friends of Vergil by believing in the permanence of his poem began to create it. Their equals in sensitiveness and insight approved that judgment in generation after generation. Separately these judgments were subjective and independent of external norms in every instance. Collectively, however, the agreement of so many identical subjective reactions over so long a period of time came to constitute the only kind of objectivity we know at all. I said you were too humble and I meant that you will not take toward some contemporary work the attitude that Vergil's friends took and so begin the creation of that permanence in beauty which you crave."

"But suppose I have not their good fortune and my subjective decision is reversed?"

The critic smiled. "The extremes of humility and pride are one," he said. "You are too humble to judge because you are too proud to take the chance of having judged wrongly. You want the safeguard of standards in order to avoid the risks of human fate."

"I do not admit your picture of human fate," the professor cried, "as excluding the recognizably transcendent and eternal! Where are we to rest in this mad flux?"

"We are in it," the critic said sadly. "No shore is visible. I refuse to suppose a shore because I am weary at moments. Life and art create their values from within. Here or nowhere is eternity."

The professor arose. "I refuse to live in such a world!"

The critic smiled again. "That is an old and frequent cry. Your classics have not taught you their great lesson of resignation. But that cry grants my case. I, at least, have a chance of being more useful than you who ask for a moon you do not even see."

"It is better to ask for a moon that does not exist than to consent to a moonless world."

"Ah, you idealists," the critic said, "you offer a fine and heroic spectacle for us in our leisure hours. But we who are meek do the work that needs to be done upon the earth and perhaps we shall, as it was foretold of us, inherit it after all."

In the Driftway

WEEK-ENDS in the country, the Drifter had about decided, were no better than week-ends in the city. It was hot, it was dusty, innumerable small, black flies buzzed in front of his nose, poison ivy lurked he knew not where, but probably just where he was walking. He sulkily refused to remark the much advertised display of nature on every side and instead kept his eyes doggedly fixed on the brown caked dirt at his feet. Thus it was that the end of the road took him unawares and with a gasp he drew back from plunging over the brink of what lay before him. Rushing, swirling, foaming and breaking over rocks and roots, an intrepid mountain stream beckoned to him. Almost before he thought about it he was in it; the water was cold! There was at least one pool deep enough to swim in, and swim the Drifter did, pushing the smooth, yielding water away from him, drawing himself slowly and lazily through the magic coolness. A large frog on a green stone regarded him calmly. The trailing branches on either side of the stream drew wet but not disapproving fingers across him as he passed under them. He was swept over slippery, moss-covered pebbles by miniature rapids and halted on the other side by an inconsiderable whirlpool. Who, he reflected, would not live forever in the country if he could! No dust, no heat, no mosquitoes—without a single stab of conscience he named over as assets the things he had been condemning but a few moments before. And, though he does not wish this to be used as an argument by the Prohibition forces, it was water that made all the difference. Nor does he wish this story to come to the ears of the Blue Laws advocates, for all this happened on a Sunday, and though it is certainly less sinful (and infinitely more desirable) than reading the Sunday newspapers, its very pleasurableness might serve to put it on the Indigo Index Expurgatorius.

* * * * *

THE Drifter cannot refrain from the pleasure of giving to *The Nation's* readers this amusing characterization of the unbeloved British Winston Churchill by "Lucio" in the *Manchester Guardian*, entitled Mr. Churchill's Palm Tree, a suggested inscription for the palm tree recently planted by Mr. Churchill in Jerusalem in the presence of 5,000 Zionists:

Stranger, I am no common tree,
For Winston Churchill planted me;
Churchill, the burden of whose song
Was "All in turn and nothing long";
Who sought at first the warrior's crown
And helped to do the Mahdi down;
Who fought at Spion Kop's retreat
(And later on at Sidney Street);
Who changed his party like his hat,
And office oftener than that;
Who, wearied of the Board of Trade,
Home Secretary was promptly made,
Next, turned the navy's new physician
And launched the Antwerp Expedition,
Then fell from grace, but rose again
To guide the army and its men,
To rule o'er Whitehall's little Prussia
And cost us God knows what in Russia,
To see red uniforms restored
And give the R. A. F. a sword.
Such was the Man that planted me,
Churchill, the chosen of Dundee,
Who ruled the air, the land, the sea;
And, not content, now plays the lion
Before the assembled hosts of Zion,
Thus "featured" (for a time at least)
As Emperor of the Middle East.

. . . . . .

Here, in the shade that he designed
Rest, traveler, and compose thy mind—
By Allah (who knows all things hid),
'Tis more than Winston ever did!

THE DRIFTER

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Correspondence

The American Legion

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As a volunteer in the recent holocaust and an individual demanding freedom and personal liberty even in time of peace I wish to express my appreciation of Mr. Warner's articles on The American Legion. He is to be admired for his courage and commended for his temperateness.

We as individuals demand the liberty and freedom we fought for as a nation. The oligarchy of an organization or of a clique within an organization must not be tolerated. The prostitution of an organization formed ostensibly for the perpetuation of decent social intercourse is a disgrace to every honest veteran.

Is the American Legion unmindful of the earnest, even frantic, desires for eternal peace of the maimed victims of the war, or does it wish to perpetuate the hatred and the misery? Is its spirit militaristic or peaceful?

Mountain Lake Park, Md., July 7. H. B. LANDA.

British C. O. and Quaker Exemptions

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As I know how difficult it was to find out the exact condition of exemption for C. O.'s during the war on your side the Atlantic, I can understand the difficulty of being absolutely accurate regarding the British exemptions. Apropos, therefore, your reference in the article on the Society of Friends in your issue of June 15, may I point out that no exemption was given to Quakers as such, as is there suggested. Unofficial "official" offers of a special tribunal for Quakers were made, but were refused. All C. O.'s therefore were able to apply for exemption on a common basis of "conscientious objection" on moral or religious grounds alone. In practice, of course, the question was almost invariably directly asked as to whether the applicant was a Quaker, and if he were he was practically sure of exemption from combatant service. Neither Quaker nor non-Quaker C. O.'s however (with about two score exceptions) received the absolute exemption possible under the act, but a dead letter in practice.

Might I take the opportunity of informing your readers that a full history of the C. O. movement written by Principal J. W. Graham of Dalton Hall, Manchester, will be ready in the autumn. In this volume he will bring a good many facts to light which will make startling reading.

London, England, June 6 HUBERT W. PEET

The Tariff Bill: A Correction

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have seen a copy of *The Nation* which indicates to me that while your journal, I assume, wants to be fair it has utterly misstated the situation with reference to the pending tariff bill. The minority report of the Committee on Ways and Means simply outdid itself in vituperation but was lamentably short in facts and arguments. You follow it when you say in your editorial that the hearings of the committee were in secret. They were not. They were open to everybody and attended by large audiences. The Republican majority of the committee met by itself to frame the bill, just as the Democratic majority did when the Underwood bill was framed, the Wilson bill, and all other tariff bills were framed by a majority of the committee. The proceedings of the committee were given out much more freely than ever before, for the papers every day carried a summary of the rates adopted and even just how each member of the committee voted.

The principal complaint against the Payne bill was based on Schedule K, the wool schedule. This has been entirely rewritten on an altogether different basis, lowering the duties to the consumer of cloth from those levied in the Payne bill.

W. R. GREEN
Congressman from Iowa and Member of the Committee on Ways and Means

Washington, D. C., July 18

The Imprisoned I. W. W. at Leavenworth

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I call your attention, as well as that of your readers, to the cases of the I. W. W. prisoners at present doing time at Leavenworth? There are about one hundred and twenty of these men, all told. They are serving sentences varying from five to twenty years. I happen to be one of those serving a twenty-year sentence, so I can speak from first-hand knowledge.

We were arrested in 1917 under three indictments, known respectively as the Chicago, Sacramento, and Wichita indictments, charging us with conspiracy to hamper and obstruct the United States Government in the conduct of the war. After being held from one to two years under unspeakable conditions which caused the death of some, and others to go insane, in the county jails of Chicago, Sacramento, Wichita and other towns in Kansas, we were "tried," convicted, and given sentences varying from one to twenty years. Fifteen received twenty-year sentences and the majority of the remainder are now serving ten-year sentences.

Not one of us was proven guilty of any crime. We were convicted under the stress of war-time hysteria and public prejudice. Our real offense was that we all were, or had been, more or less active members of the I. W. W. We held, and still hold, certain opinions regarding the present system of society which are unfavorable to the ruling class and at variance with those held by the great majority of the people. Whether these opinions are right or wrong cuts no figure as far as the principle involved in these cases is concerned. If men can be imprisoned for their opinions then the liberties guaranteed by the Constitution no longer exist in the United States; free press and free speech are only empty phrases used to deceive the unthinking. If we are forced to serve out these sentences then no one is safe. Anyone holding opinions which the American plutocracy consider dangerous to their privileges can be thrown behind prison bars and forced to spend many years in a felon's cell. Our imprisonment not only means loss of liberty and all that makes life worth living to us. It is also a direct attack on the liberties of one hundred and ten million people. If the American people stand for these high-handed and savage judicial acts, unparalleled in any modern civilized country, it means that they have abandoned all claims to the rights and liberties for which our forefathers shed their blood. The lives of one hundred and twenty men are of little consequence. If forced to serve out our sentences we can do so, and I for one would rather stay in jail with a clear conscience than bow the knee to privilege on the outside. The real tragedy lies in the moral breakdown of a great people.

The only power that can free us is aroused public opinion. These cases must be investigated and the facts given wide publicity, and such a strong protest made to the officials at Washington that they may see their way clear to take action leading to the early release of all political prisoners in the State and Federal prisons of the United States. A small group of liberals and radicals are doing all in their power to bring about general amnesty for all political prisoners. Needless to say we thoroughly appreciate their efforts on our behalf. I ask you to add your voice to theirs, to the end that justice may be done and the voice of freedom, in unmistakable tones, may once more ring through the land.

Leavenworth, Kansas, July 13 JAMES ROWAN

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To Carl Sandburg

By AMY LOWELL

I think I am cousin-german to Endymion,
Certainly I have loved the moon a long time.

I have seen her, a faint conceit of silver,
Shooting little silver arrows into a marsh pool at twilight.
I have seen her, high, round, majestic,
Making herself a jewel of fire out of a sea bay.
I have seen the morning moon, grievously battered,
Limping down a colored sky.
Tonight I saw an evening moon
Dodging between tree-branches
Through a singing silence of crickets,
And a man was singing songs to a black-backed guitar.

Today I saw a country I knew well but had never seen.
A country where corn runs a mile or more to a tree-line,
A country where a river, brown as bronze, streaked green with the flowing heads of water-plants,
Slips between a field of apples and a field of wheat.
A country where the eye seeks a long way
And comes back on the curve of a round sky,
Satisfied with greens and blues, tired with the stretch and exhilarated by it.

The moon stops a moment in a hole between leaves
And tells me a new story,
A story of a man who lives in a house with a pear-tree before the door,
A story of little green pears changing and ripening,
Of long catalpa pods turning yellow through September days.
There is a woman in the house, and children,
And, out beyond, the corn-fields are sleeping and the trees are whispering to the fireflies.
So I have seen the man's country, and heard his songs before there are words to them.
And the moon said to me: "This now I give you," and went on, stepping through the leaves.
And the man went on singing, picking out his accompaniment softly on the black-backed guitar.

Books

Architects of a New World

Problems of a New World. By J. A. Hobson. The Macmillan Company.
The Salvaging of Civilization. By H. G. Wells. The Macmillan Company.
The New Society. By Walter Rathenau. Harcourt, Brace and Company.

WE always know what to expect from a new book from Mr. Hobson—clear, straightforward thinking, precise statement, quiet, unpretentious rationality, and a steady march to a conclusion. One sometimes wonders whether he does not overdo his self-restraint; for while he is always persuasive, he is rarely compelling. The preceptor is never lost in the prophet; he always leaves us instructed, but seldom inspired. Often he brings us to a point when a hot hammer stroke would finish the argument for good and all; but he pulls himself up and begins a new chapter. And this is the more unfortunate because his perception of the nature and range of the values upon which human salvation depends is essentially of the prophetic kind. Argument for argument, materialism may make as good a show as idealism; and in the end we are compelled to an act of faith. We will to believe—either way; and Mr. Hobson has elected for a spiritual view of the ends of life. This view he expounds with infinite patience and unfailing clarity; but it never blazes up into a flame that sets others afire. He has all the equipment of the prophet except a sort of holy inflammability.

"Problems of a New World" has all the characteristic Hobson notes; but it leaves us with the same old sense of an unspoken clinching word. Mr. Hobson analyzes with his customary insight the psychology of pre-war Europe, and of the civilian mind in war time; he exposes with a pitiless realism the pathos of popular war idealism and its exploitation by politicians; he discusses the signs and prospects of industrial revolution; and finally he explores the conditions under which a new kind of world may be fashioned. One is aware of a certain lack of coherency between the main sections of the book; and there is a proportionately greater attention paid to the old world and its failings than we should expect in a book bearing this particular title. But taken as a whole, it is a massive statement of the psychological and spiritual background of the rebuilding task before us. The last chapter is—frankly—disappointing. It is hardly more than a catalogue of problems which serve to show the size of the job; and we have a right to something more than this from Mr. Hobson. But perhaps this chapter is only the foreshadowing of another book. At least, let us hope so; for Mr. Hobson can write nothing which is not welcome.

Two points seem to emerge as the essential message of the book. The first is an appeal that we turn from the stupid faith in force which the war has so tragically reinforced to reason "as the preserver of social sanity and the vindicator of the deeper and enduring purposes of mankind"; and the second—in the concluding words of the book—"The crucial test for all post-war reconstruction is the plain economic question: 'Does it increase productivity, thus liberating the worker from the burden of industrialism and enabling him to become a parent, an artist, a scholar, and a human being?' "

To pass from Mr. Hobson to Mr. Wells is to come into a much easier kind of world. Mr. Wells is too facile and voluble to be a reassuring guide. He is always brilliant; and in whatever he writes the going is good for the reader. Yet at the end of it one is conscious of innumerable notes of interrogation. Mr. Hobson reflects close patient thinking; Mr. Wells suggests sparkling improvisation. "The Salvaging of Civilization" seems to have come off the point of his pen as water comes out of a faucet; it gives no such impression of sweat and travail as does Mr. Hobson's book. Yet the book is very well worth reading. Apparently it consists of lectures intended for delivery in this country; and the lecture form has been retained. The first part deals with Mr. Wells's favorite project of a world state, for which he argues ably if not convincingly. The argument rests upon the present shrinkage of the world, which has become too small to tolerate those archaic and divisive groupings which men call nations. A league of nations, especially the existing League, is a preposterous sham, its very title perpetuating that principle of separatism which it is desired to overcome. But surely Mr. Wells himself introduces a needless obstacle to his splendid conception of human unity by describing it as a state; for the state has historically proved to be much more divisive than nationality; and it has always tended to a centralization of authority that soon or late invites disruption. What Mr. Wells has in mind is more like a world society welded together on the basis of a community of ideas and having some kind of clearing house for its public business. From this, he goes on to a very interesting discussion of a new Bible which shall be the repository of the common ideas by which the world

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is to be united; and he concludes with an analysis of the sort of education that will make for the world society.

The real defect of the book would appear to be its consistent externality. After all, it is an easy task for a lithe and inventive mind to describe a world state, a world Bible, and a world education, and it is, let it be admitted, useful to have Mr. Wells and others do this kind of thing for us. It helps to habituate our minds to the terms in which we shall have to think if the world is to be saved. But coming to Mr. Wells after a reading of Mr. Hobson, it is difficult to resist the feeling that Mr. Wells can plan and scheme for the world's future so lightly and fascinatingly only because at bottom he does not know human nature; or at least because he does not pay much attention to it. This may seem a gross heresy in the eyes of those to whom Wells is "the law and the prophets"; but it remains a pretty problem how Mr. Wells is going to make the now numerous population of his novels live together in his world state.

Dr. Rathenau's position as Minister of Reconstruction in Germany gives his writings an unusual interest and a very large importance. But the writings should be read, as they deserve to be read, for their own sake. He is a man of broad vision and shrewd, penetrating insight; and he has always the courage of his conclusions. We have in him the unusual combination of great practical capacity and a fine idealistic temper. In "The New Society" he addresses himself chiefly to German conditions; and after all that we have heard in recent years of German materialism, it is piquant to have this successful industrial magnate insisting that the peculiar genius of Germany is in the field of intellectual and spiritual leadership. He insists that she was perverting her soul when she set out on her adventure in Realpolitik, and that her failure and her present distress are the just "recompense of reward" of her self-prostitution to the ignoble ends of imperialism. The most useful and stimulating note of the book is the frank throwing overboard of the current political and economic orthodoxies—both conservative and radical. Dr. Rathenau does not suffer doctrinaires or their doctrines gladly; like a compatriot in another sphere, he insists upon the "relativity" of political and economic theory; and he is very hard indeed upon the preachers of Utopias, especially upon those who compress their gospel into an easy formula. The special message of "The New Society" is the idea of "the Interchange of Labor." "By the principle of Interchange of Labor it is required that every employee engaged in mechanical work can claim to do a portion of his day's work in intellectual employment; and that every brain-worker shall be obliged to devote a portion of his day to physical labor." This is plain common sense of course; but the difficulties of working the idea out are obviously enormous. Dr. Rathenau does not, however, shirk from the endeavor to show how the principle may be put in practice; and it is perhaps in this that he makes his most fruitful contribution to current social thinking. For it is not likely that we shall ever attain a condition in which every man shall have, as George Meredith put it, "a full man's share in what is going on in life," until we have organized social life on the basis of "one man, two jobs."

RICHARD ROBERTS.

The Parasite's Tragedy

Alice Adams. By Booth Tarkington. Doubleday, Page and Company.

A SOMEWHAT somber critic, writing in these columns, recently censured Mr. Tarkington for the trivial conclusions with which he has been accustomed to end his novels, rounding them out on a note of glibness which mutilates the narrative and maddens the judicious. Almost as if to discredit his critic's censure, the novelist who committed such artistic mayhem upon Bibbs Sheridan in "The Turmoil" and upon the heir of all the Ambersons in the saga of that Midland family, has now in the career of Alice Adams kept his conscience honest to the last and has produced a masterpiece in comparison with which even his most serious earlier novels seem experiments in the art of fiction.

Looked at from a point of detachment which takes one a little outside the assumptions upon which the chronicle is based, Alice is not strictly a tragic figure. That passion of hers which circumstances thwart is no more, to put it coldly, than her ambition to dispose of her manifest charms to some dominant male who in exchange will establish her—of course lawfully—upon the substantial ground of privilege. Desire, in any of the deeper senses, she does not show any signs of feeling; what she loves in Arthur Russell is but incidentally himself and actually his assured position and his assured prosperity. So considered, her desperate machinations to enchant and hold him have a comic aspect; one touch more of exaggeration and she would pass over to join those sorry ladies of the world of farce who take a larger hand in wooing than human customs happen to approve. But Mr. Tarkington does not give that one touch more of exaggeration. The prudential motives of the mating instinct, he knows, are not to be esteemed too lightly. If Alice had captured Russell, to be sure she would not have been a very profound wife and mother; she would have been a parasite, however competent and charming, as long as her husband and his money lasted—and she would have taken remarkably good care to see that both lasted a long while. Yet for all that, her instinct to win a husband is an instinct as powerful as any she has and is all she has been taught by her society to have. In Mr. Tarkington's sympathetic handling she becomes important; her struggle, almost single-handed, without the aid of guardian dowager or beguiling dot, seems increasingly pathetic as the narrative advances; and her eventual failure, though signalized merely by her determination to make her own living instead of letting some husband do it for her, carries with it a sharp sense of tragedy.

Quite possibly Mr. Tarkington has never gone behind the bourgeois assumptions which his story takes for granted. Well, he has not needed to. Theodore Dreiser would have gone behind them and might have been lost; Edith Wharton might have gone behind them and would have been cruel. Mr. Tarkington sticks to familiar territory and writes with the confident touch of a man who is not confused by speculation. His style has never been more swift, more easy, more flexible, more accurate in its conformity to the vernacular. He attempts no detours and permits himself no superfluities. His piece is ready for the stage almost as it stands, if any producer has the morals to use it without some new, impertinent conclusion. It is packed with piercing observation. Alice's father with his poor head addled by the conflict in it between a feudal loyalty to his employer and a paternal loyalty to his pretty daughter; Alice's mother, with her ineffectual snobbery and her dumb longing to see Alice a success; Alice's brother, that ineffable young bounder who aspires to sink in the world as eagerly as Alice to rise: they have been cut out of real material with a keen tool. It would be hard to excel the dexterity with which Mr. Tarkington records the mean shifts of the Adams family to keep up appearances; yet he has excelled it in the dexterity with which he records the pathetic devices of Alice to hold her own in a circle which knows that she is slipping out of it and which does not care. The manners of the young have always seemed amusing to Mr. Tarkington; he has kept on watching them and laughing at them as his principal material; now he adds to his old tricks of comic truthfulness a considerate perception of the pathos of youth.

Next to the honesty of his conclusion, this mingling of comedy and pathos is what does most to give his latest book its superior quality. In the face of her losing fight, Alice is incomparably game. It strengthens the pathos of her story that the comedy holds out so well; it enlarges the comedy that the pathos is so essential to the action. Even the most comic things have their tears.

CARL VAN DOREN.

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A Handbook That Helps

Modern Social Movements. By Savel Zimand. H. W. Wilson Company.

IF there is one fault which more than any other pervades American discussion, it is lack of precise knowledge of the facts upon which opinion must be based. This is true, not only of popular discussion of the newspaper-editorial type which so often makes inflated self-importance and prejudice do duty for information and judgment, but also of much of the opinion expressed by persons who are reputed to have received an education in the essentials and methods of scholarship. The excuse for this careless habit is that while opinions on many subjects seem to be necessary in a closely articulated "great society," the mass of information which one has to acquire in order to know one's way about any department of knowledge is so enormous that none but the specialist can hope to encompass it.

To meet such needs many handbooks have been written, but the really good handbook is rare. Either it is too superficial or else too comprehensive; either it reflects a personal bias or else it offers no perspective whatever. Particularly is this true in the case of controversial subjects such as Mr. Zimand has covered in this small volume. All the greater is our debt to him, therefore, for having produced a handbook which ought to serve as a model, about those modern social movements concerning which an inexcusable ignorance is sadly prevalent.

Trade Unionism, the Cooperative Movement, experiments in Industrial Democracy, the Single Tax, Socialism, Guild Socialism, Syndicalism, Bolshevism, and Anarchism are the subjects. The author's own comments on them are both enlightened and objective; they state clearly the essential facts, but cover in each case not more than a few pages. These summaries will serve the purpose of those who wish to know accurately the basic principles, but have only a few moments in which to acquire them. If every writer of popular articles or editorials on these matters would pause just long enough to consult this book before attacking his typewriter, the level of understanding would be raised immeasurably in a short time. After each summary follows an admirable bibliography, containing references to books, periodicals, pamphlets, and documents, inclusive enough to cover the important sources, but not so exhaustive as to be confusing. Descriptive sentences furnish a guide to the more significant works. These bibliographies will serve the student who wishes detailed information. Adequate scholarship is here made easily available to all.

GEORGE SOULE

The Dadaistic Dante

The Cryptography of Dante. By Walter Arensberg. Alfred A. Knopf.

DOUBTLESS it is possible to formulate coherent principles for a psychoanalytical interpretation of literature. The question that Mr. Arensberg really raises in this volume is whether it is possible to formulate a Dadaistic method of historical criticism. Even if we grant, with the followers of Fraser, that sex-symbolism plays an important part in primitive folk-lore, and with the psychoanalysts, that it plays an important and hitherto unsuspected part in the dream life of today, it is still a heavy tax on good-will to be asked to pass from these premises to the theory that the sex-symbolism of the savage was a commonplace motive of cultivated Ducento poetry, or that the writers of Dante's time anticipated in a precise and conscious manner the discoveries of Freud and the mannerisms of the present Montmartre school. Mr. Arensberg is an ultra-modernist in art, and consequently also in criticism. He sees everything through symbols. So he reads Dante as he would read Picabia; and the "Comedy" turns out, in his hands, a maze of points and oblongs, of convexes and concaves—symbolical all, to be sure—like a new Nude Descending the Stairs.

The question I have never seen clearly answered is where in all this so-called "new art" and "new criticism" blague comes to an end and seriousness begins; for the Dadaists and their predecessors are never so funny as when they seem most in earnest, while their humor has always a tinge of grimness and truculence. It may be in point to remark that the "symbolic" analogies stressed and strained in Mr. Arensberg's "Cryptography of Dante" are, when they are most convincing, traditional motives of Italian burlesque, schoolboy obscenities as it were, thrown in the face of professorial pedantry. And as humor of that kind they do very well. But here Mr. Arensberg seems to take them seriously, integrates them in a theory of folk-lore, not to say a philosophy of life. Is this not all a kind of super-blague—with the design to "string" the traditional Dantists a little, skilfully, perhaps symbolically, concealed?

This effort to prove Dante a Dadaist (the term Mama-ist would be more exact; for I am sure the psychoanalysts will all rejoice that the "mother-complex" has at last been held responsible for a masterpiece of literature) is one of the curiosities of Dante erudition, like the efforts that have been made to prove Dante a Jew, and a Mason. Its method, for that matter, is one of the most respectable: Dante has recently been proclaimed a Fascista by a politician in good standing; and I have heard a college president prove that Christ was a Bull Moose. Mr. Arensberg, however, shows restraint in one respect. It would have been trying indeed had he, as a convinced Baconian in Shakespeare matters, let loose his cryptography to prove that the "Comedy" was the work of Roger Bacon!

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

Books in Brief

"A COMMENTARY upon Browning's The Ring and the Book" (Oxford) by A. K. Cook, a magnificent exegesis of a magnificent poem, should belong to every student of Browning if not to every student of poetry. It would be difficult to ask oneself a question about a line, an allusion, a place, a character, or a source which Mr. Cook has not taken exquisite pains to answer. His material, exclusive of prefaces and appendices, is arranged in twelve parts, corresponding to the twelve books of the poem, and consists both of detailed annotations and of general criticism. Mr. Cook is so saturated with Browning and the Old Yellow Book that he can well be forgiven the blindness which he repeatedly betrays in his general criticism to the one defect of "The Ring and the Book"—its over-particularization. Experts will always, apparently, be citing obscure sources which their poets have transformed, but the public, rightly indifferent to obscure sources, will always be complaining if the transformation is not complete; and Browning, of course, in spite of Mr. Cook, is often incomplete beyond either excuse or annotation.

"THE MYSTIC WARRIOR" (Knopf) is the autobiography in free verse of James Oppenheim, who believes he has achieved a new kind of objectivity through the process of psychoanalysis and a new kind of vividness through the dissolving-picture technique of the movies. The truth is that he is subjective and vague, sentimental and vain, self-pitying and self-pious to an all but incredible extent. Necessarily he talks about himself, and necessarily he describes a struggle he has had—the struggle to be free of profession and family for the sake of art. That might be a noble theme, and profoundly representative, but in Mr. Oppenheim's hands it is about as significant as the stickiest pages of an adolescent diary better burned. "I was always the artist to my finger-tips," he confides, at first only a "sober little fellow," a "dreamy little singer and artist," but eventually "inspired." "Fearful, timorous, bossy, over-masculine, shy girlish James" becomes a poet and threatens to "grow as old as Prospero." "The new psychology"

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may or may not produce richer autobiographies than this at times excruciatingly tame and flat one; when it does produce one better we shall recognize it by a native intensity and a forthright importance, not by a banner of fabricated atavisms and complexes flourished in our faces.

IN the two volumes of "Collected Poems" (Holt) by Walter De La Mare and in "Poems New and Old" (Harcourt, Brace) by John Freeman is represented the best work to date of two English poets who have become known to American readers chiefly through "Georgian Poetry," but whom it is almost inevitable to call Georgian on any account. Both are good poets; neither is great. Mr. De La Mare is easy and fine, writes charmingly for children, and haunts a certain shadow world with all the grace of one who belongs there; yet his pages are seldom distinguished by absolutely surprising lines. Always poetical, he is never unique. Mr. Freeman pursues an impressive and very independent path of reverie through Nature and the past of his own mind. Honesty, to which he is willing at any time to sacrifice pleasantness and strength, is his virtue; thinness, which not always can be called insignificance, is his defect.

FOR certain purposes—honesty, passion, elegance—Imagist poets make the very best translators. Richard Aldington has never done better work than now appears under the title "Medallions in Clay" (Knopf), a reprint, with additions, of four numbers contributed by him to the admirable Poets' Translation Series of the Egoist Press in London. The limpid and rich if decadent stream which the Greek Anthology pours perpetually into modern European poetry has seldom found such beautiful voice.

Music

Fifteen Minutes with Richard Strauss

SO much has been written about Richard Strauss, both as composer and man, that criticism for the time being seems exhausted, and there seems nothing left to be said by anyone but Strauss himself. For this reason, when I arrived in Vienna and learned that he was not inaccessible, I sent him a copy of *The Nation* and a little note requesting an interview for that paper. To my delight I immediately received an appointment at the State (formerly the Royal) Opera House, where Strauss is now director and conductor. At first I thought I had been so favored because of the copy of *The Nation*, which happened to contain, among other things, Ludwig Lewisohn's article on modern German poetry. But I was soon to be mystified. For when, at the appointed hour, I was ushered into the director's room, where I was unsmilingly greeted by the director, and just as unsmilingly presented to his wife, he began by saying: "I will not give an interview."

"Very well," I responded, "won't you please tell me something about your new work?"

"Certainly," quickly spoke up his wife, in English, who probably understood the Straussian harmonies even better, and who was, besides, amiably taking pity on my limited German vocabulary. "It is a light, three-act opera in small form for small orchestra, like the Mozart."

"But serious," joined in the composer.

"And who has written the text?" I asked, addressing him.

"I have."

"And the title?"

"Intermezzo," was the still briefer reply.

"He is working on the scoring now," further enlightened Frau Strauss, "but it will not be finished for a year. Perhaps we shall come to America next winter for the Metropolitan," she added, suddenly changing the subject to what was probably paramount at the time in the minds of both.

"I don't know," growled Strauss, sulkily. "They won't pay me enough."

"We would have to live in New York, and it is very expensive there," softly explained his wife.

"Yes," I said, "but," turning to the composer, "you would have a very good opportunity, as we have had no really great successor to Toscanini."

"You have Bodanzky, and he is very good—for America," he replied insolently. "America," he added, "has no understanding of Europe."

"Perhaps," I replied with some asperity, my own Strausian temper beginning to rise, "Europe has no understanding of America."

"Salzburg," he continued gloomily, ignoring my remark, "needs a Festspielhaus; but that would cost a million dollars. America ought to give it."

For a moment I was too astonished to speak. Only a short time before, on my way to the opera house, I had passed a man who had fainted from hunger in front of one of those cruelly glittering shops that line the Kärntnerstrasse, and the mute sympathy and white, bloodless faces of the gravely staring crowd were still haunting me. It seemed to me that Austria had more immediate needs for our millions than festival houses. So at last I said, slowly and curiously: "If you will tell me just why America should give Salzburg a million dollars for a Festspielhaus, I will write it."

"Because," he answered roughly, "America has no culture. Culture will always come from Europe."

"But," I protested, "it has been many years since you have been in America. You will find a great change, especially in the musical world."

"That may be," he admitted grudgingly, "but America needs Europe. Europe does not need America—only her dollars."

"I like America," tactfully interposed Frau Strauss. "I once gave between thirty and forty concerts there. I would like my husband to be at the Metropolitan for a winter."

"No," said her husband, "I will not go through what Mahler and Mottl had to endure."

"There is no reason why you would have to," I said dryly.

"Perhaps we will stay there three or four months," she persisted.

"No," he repeated angrily, "only one month. I will not give a year of my life to America."

"But there is no money here in Vienna," pleaded his wife.

"One needs no money here in Vienna," he replied sternly, and turning to me, indicated that the interview was over.

In writing to the composer I had said that anything he would have to say would be as much appreciated by my readers as by myself. I hope I did not exaggerate. Personally, however, being an American, I am still wondering which we in America need the more—such a luxury as Richard Strauss, or that inner grace, our self-respect.

HENRIETTA STRAUS

A Practical Textbook

MAKING MONEY MAKE MONEY

by

H. L. BARBER

$1.74

R. H. Macy & Co. Inc.

Herald Square New York

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International Relations Section

American Labor and the International

IN answer to the objections cited in a letter from the American Federation of Labor to the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions at Amsterdam, Secretary Oudegeest made the following explanation and statement of principles which the *American Federationist* for July reprints under the caption A Letter of Misstatement, Effrontery, and Domination.

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS
Headquarters: Amsterdam—61 Vondelstraat, Holland

Amsterdam, April 12, 1921

To the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Washington, D. C.:

DEAR SIRS AND BROTHERS:

We have great pleasure in acknowledging receipt of your letter of the 1st March, because we have written you over fifty times previously and with certain very rare exceptions have been unable to obtain any sort of answer. We are therefore all the more pleased that you have at length taken the initiative to open relations with us.

You will readily appreciate that this gratifies us beyond measure because our attempts to remain in regular touch with you, whereby certain misunderstandings could have been avoided, have been frustrated by the apparent impossibility of getting a reply when we approached you for cooperation and advice. As regards your letter itself we will answer this in the same order as you have written us.

You state that the American Federation of Labor finds it impossible to continue affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions because:

First, that the new constitution completely abrogated the principle of complete autonomy for each national trade union federation.

Second, that through the issuance of appeals and proclamations the executive body of the International Federation had committed the Federation to a revolutionary principle.

Third, that a system of dues had been adopted which would place upon the American Federation of Labor a heavy and unbearable expense.

We regret to say that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has evidently been incompletely or wrongly informed. If your executive has been accurately informed then it disavows the American delegation in attendance at the Amsterdam Congress of 1919, for this delegation voted for the clause in article 3 of our constitution reading as follows:

"The International Federation shall consist of the national and general trade union centers of those countries which are organized on a definite trade union basis, the autonomy of the trade union movement of each country being guaranteed."

This delegation also voted for a system of dues which is now referred to by your executive as unbearable. The members of the delegation—namely, Messrs. Samuel Gompers, D. J. Tobin, and John J. Hynes—will recall that the dues were proposed by the British trade union representative, Mr. Stuart Bunning.

It is therefore absolutely untrue that national autonomy is completely abrogated. The system of dues and the remaining articles of the constitution were adopted in collaboration with your own representatives at the congress held in July, 1919, at Amsterdam.

It is absolutely untrue that an application for a readjustment of dues met with no favorable response from the executive body of our International. At a joint meeting with your executive held on the 4th November, 1919, at Washington, Mr. Gompers endeavored to secure a reduction of dues because the American Federation of Labor had not the necessary finances at its disposal to pay the relatively low rate of £1 sterling per 1,000 members per annum. The writer thereupon intimated that our executive body had not the right to introduce modifications to this rule because the constitution and the rate of contributions payable had been adopted at a congress. This matter was further deliberated at a meeting of our full executive body held on the 8th April, 1920. This body decided that the whole matter of dues should be brought before the next ordinary congress. This congress according to the constitution should be held in the latter part of 1921. Your organization was notified of this decision by letter dated the 22d April, 1920.

We who are advocates of a real and pure democracy neither wish or are able to practice a dictatorship, and consider it essential that modifications of the constitution should be made by our congress. We believe that you, who claim to be democrats, will justify our conception and will admit that we are right. . . .

In your second objection you convey to us that our executive body by means of appeals and proclamations has committed the Trade Union International to revolutionary principles. You state that our policy is completely at variance with the policy of the American organizations.

You refer incidentally to "revolutionary action" with the "socialization of industry as its objective," owing to which we quote your letter "there can be no compromise between the two points of view" (i. e., between your organization and ours).

This revolutionary viewpoint is further inferred from our appeal, issued on the 8th September, 1919, in which we appealed to the national trade union centers to take action against the transport of munitions and if possible against the manufacture of munitions for the prevention of all warfare (and not as stated by you in favor of Soviet Russia).

We regret that apparently you have only read two sentences from this appeal. If you could not see your way to indorse the appeal which was issued against war, we must assume that you have considerably less objection against the provocation and outbreak of a new world war than ourselves, and that as a matter of fact there is an abysmal and incompatible difference between your mental attitude and that of the workers of Europe. In Europe this appeal has been favorably received not only by the workers but also by important groups of the bourgeoisie.

You do not mean to say that the annihilation of human life, which generally speaking means the doom of millions of workers and the annihilation of millions of wealth producers meets with your approbation?

We take the point of view that any war, no matter whether it is commenced by autocratic or democratic governments, must be opposed and prevented by the working-class; more especially after the misery caused by the World War, which we have witnessed in Europe and you have partly witnessed in America. In our manifesto we have not written anything else than that stated in the preceding lines.

You refer further to our manifesto "Down with Reaction," "Up with Socialization" and quote the passage in which we urge the workers to fight against reaction and for the socialization of the means of production.

Permit us to observe that you have apparently read this manifesto as cursorily and imperfectly as all our other published documents. On account of this you made the American workers believe that the manifesto stated "Up with Socialism." Any worker with a strictly limited education could easily explain to you that "socialism" is not exactly the same as "socialization."

As regards the manifesto itself we must candidly confess that we fail to understand how it is possible for you, as democrats, to set yourselves in opposition to the struggle against reaction! At the same time we regret that you disavow your President, Mr. Samuel Gompers, before the eyes of the whole world, for is not Mr. Samuel Gompers the Honorary President of the Plumb Plan League? ("To secure public ownership and democracy in the operation of the railways of the United States"). This Plumb Plan League has precisely the same object as far as

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railways are concerned as that known to us in Europe as "socialization." Is, therefore, your President, Mr. Samuel Gompers, who signed the protest to us in your name, in agreement with his own executive or not? Or, otherwise, why should it be permissible to "socialize" the railways of America and not of Europe? . . .

Furthermore it is absolutely untrue that our executive body called upon the workers to give effect to this "revolutionary policy" by proclaiming a general strike on the 1st May, 1920. We think it necessary to inform you that for the past thirty years May Day has been regarded as a labor festival on the continent of Europe when the workers obtain a day's holiday either with or without the consent of their employers; and when in all towns and villages throughout the continent of Europe meetings and open-air demonstrations are held for the advocacy of labor's demands.

This custom is evidently unknown to you in America. Taking into consideration this custom of thirty years' standing we asked the labor organizations in 1920 to devote May Day to demonstrations in favor of those demands contained in our manifesto. As already confirmed, it is absolutely untrue to say that we asked the organizations to proclaim a general strike.

It is also absolutely untrue that our former president, Mr. W. A. Appleton, who has signed all our manifestos, resigned the presidency on the same grounds as held by the American Federation of Labor in its refusal to affiliate with us.

It appears that the information you receive is not always quite correct. Mr. William A. Appleton did not resign the presidency of his own free will. At the British Trade Union Congress (which is affiliated to our Federation) held in September, 1920, where your Federation was represented by Mrs. Sara A. Conboy and Brother T. Healey, it was a subject of general protest that Mr. W. A. Appleton had been appointed president of our International in view of the fact—as one of the delegates observed—that no self-respecting English worker would sit with him at the same table on account of his undemocratic and reactionary conceptions. You may verify this easily by reference to the report of the Portsmouth Congress although I do not doubt that both your delegates to that congress could inform you on this point. In consequence of this decision of the congress at Portsmouth it was impossible for Mr. Appleton to preside at our congress held subsequently at London because he knew that in that event the Parliamentary Committee would have set themselves against the presidency in public.

Mr. Appleton then chose the wisest course by handing in his resignation as president of our International in view of the opposition in his own country. Your President, Mr. Gompers, will clearly remember that Mr. Appleton was the nominee of the American and English delegates, no influence whatsoever being exercised by the other delegates in respect of his nomination. The resignation of Mr. Appleton therefore is entirely beyond the judgment of our executive body; his retirement was not because we were too revolutionary, but was due to the fact that as a labor leader he did not enjoy the confidence of the eight million workers affiliated with the Trade Union Congress.

This statement in your letter is, therefore, like the preceding ones, absolutely untrue.

You have further referred to your non-participation at our London Congress in November, 1920, and to the "ridiculous and flamboyant proclamations calling virtually for the overthrow of the democratic governments of the world, the United States included."

We are not sufficiently informed on the customs prevalent in America to judge what is regarded there as ridiculous and flamboyant. This, indeed, does not interest us very much. If America has other than European customs and a method of expression other than that followed by the population of Europe this may explain matters. Apart from these differences we presume that good faith, honesty, and square dealing are also valued in America. These attributes necessitate the production of proofs when an accusation is made. It will be difficult for you to adduce any proof whatsoever for the allegations made by you.

It is therefore absolutely untrue that in any one of our proclamations we have referred to or aimed at the overthrow of democratic governments. By this of course we do not mean to say that we are in agreement with the deeds of these governments.

If the American Federation of Labor expresses itself openly against revolutionary principles, that is their affair. Such pronouncement must be respected by the International Federation of Trade Unions because our constitution guarantees the autonomy of every country.

On the other hand, the American Federation of Labor must respect those principles which have found indorsement in other countries.

For our part we have done nothing more, as already indicated, than to carry out in all good faith the decisions of the Amsterdam Congress of 1919, and to comply with the constitution which was adopted there with the vote of the American delegation included.

In this connection we wish to state that the attitude of your President, Mr. Samuel Gompers, after our congress at Amsterdam is not very clear to us. At that congress "revolutionary" decisions were arrived at, including one in favor of an inquiry into the possibility of the socialization of the means of production. Your President raised objections to this motion. (We do not know whether he had then already accepted the honorary presidency of the Plumb Plan League.) He, however, accepted the articles of our constitution. At the conclusion of the congress he rose especially to make a declaration to the effect that he was not fully in agreement with all the resolutions adopted (no doubt there were other delegates who were in the same position) but nevertheless he wanted particularly to state that the American trade union movement would do all that was possible to assist this new International and would cooperate with the toilers of Europe for the improvement of the conditions under which these toilers had to live.

We regret to state that Mr. Gompers had not kept the promise contained in this declaration, whether due to forgetfulness on his part or to the attitude forced upon him by a vote of your Federation. We believe the latter because we are not for a moment inclined to believe that Mr. Gompers would deliberately break his word.

In coming to the close of your letter we must state that we are extremely glad to learn that your Federation desires to become affiliated with our International. The condition upon which you make your affiliation depend, namely, the autonomy and independence of the American Federation of Labor is covered by article 3 of our constitution which is still in force and is upheld by us.

We thoroughly understand that you seriously object to affiliate with a movement which "undertakes the destruction of the American labor movement or the overthrow of the democratic government of the Republic of the United States."

On the other hand you will realize that such an insinuation is so ludicrous and that the alleged intention is so far from our thoughts as to be beneath our dignity to waste words on the matter.

We are anxious for the American Federation of Labor to affiliate with our International. This was stated clearly enough at our London Congress. The affiliation of the American Federation of Labor is not a matter of indifference to us. If you have grievances supported on real grounds, which you are able to formulate without false representation of accomplished facts or without attempts at insinuation, we shall be very happy to go into such matters with you.

At the same time our executive body has been instructed by the congress to uphold the constitution. If you desire a modification of the constitution (either with regard to dues or to autonomy), you should not approach our executive body, but should submit proposals in a regular manner to the next ordi-

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nary congress, which according to the constitution will be held this year (probably in November).

We desire that whatever interpretations are placed on what we write or on our actions shall be left for the account of those who give expression to such interpretations; but we demand from our coworkers that they shall be convinced of good faith on our side; and of our desire to promote the interests of organized workers within the scope of our constitution and as far as this lies within our power.

We presume that fundamentally you are in accord with us, and hope to receive a speedy intimation from you that you are prepared to negotiate with us with regard to our tactics.

Furthermore that on reaffiliation with our International you will submit your proposals for the amendment of the constitution to our next congress.

On behalf of the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions, J. OUDEGEEST, *Secretary*

Mr. Gompers Retorts

ON behalf of the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, Mr. Samuel Gompers sent the following reply to the secretary of the International Federation.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR
Albany Hotel, Denver, Colorado, June 9, 1921

MR. J. OUDEGEEST, Secretary
International Federation of Trade Unions
61 Vondelstraat, Amsterdam, Holland

DEAR SIR AND BROTHER:

Your letter of April 12, addressed to the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor, was received in due time and was considered by us, and we must confess that we were both surprised and shocked that a letter of the character you have written should be addressed to any bona-fide organization of wage-earners.

In the opening paragraph of your letter you speak of having written President Gompers over fifty times and that with certain very rare exceptions you have been unable to obtain any sort of answer. You must bear in mind that the functions and duties of the president of the American Federation of Labor are not confined to the affairs of the International Federation of Trade Unions; that his duties are manifold and exacting; that in spite of these facts, we find that your communications have been answered by him in all essential respects. The records of the American Federation of Labor substantiate this statement. In addition a number of letters were addressed to the President of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

In commenting upon our first objection to the continued affiliation of the American Federation of Labor with the International Federation of Trade Unions relating to the abrogation of the principle of complete autonomy for each international trade union center, you express the point of view that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has "evidently been incompletely or wrongly informed," or that we as the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor disavow the action and attitude of the American delegation in attendance at the Amsterdam Congress of 1919.

Permit us to inform you that the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor has been and is completely and correctly informed both as to the constitution and what has transpired since its adoption. Neither has the Executive Council disavowed the action of the American delegation in attendance at the Amsterdam Congress of 1919. While the constitution itself provides for the autonomy of the national trade union movement of each country being guaranteed, as a matter of fact it has been the actions of the congress, of the bureau, of the management committee, of the conference, and of the executives of the International Federation of Trade Unions that have altered the entire situation in that these bodies have completely disregarded constitutional provisions guaranteeing the autonomy of affiliated trade union centers. The dangers which the American delegation in attendance at the Amsterdam Congress pointed out at that time have come to pass. In substantiation of that we submit the following:

Section 1 of Article 1 of the constitution of the International Federation of Trade Unions under the caption "Name" provides that the "national centers of the trade unions of the various countries shall combine in an international federation of trade unions, *the autonomy of the trade union movements of each country being guaranteed.*"

In the paragraph entitled "Objects of the Federation," in sections 1-5, both inclusive, the objects of the Federation are defined in general terms.

First of all the question arises, who shall have the power and authority to interpret and to apply specifically the objects intended by the general terms used in the above paragraphs?

The last paragraph in the article entitled "The Conference—Its Duties," provides the following:

"The Congress alone shall have authority to decide all questions of principle or tactics of a trade union nature apart from exceptional cases."

In agreeing to the constitution the American delegation in attendance at the Amsterdam Congress of 1919 insisted that the congress, and the congress alone, had the authority of determining specifically what particular acts, principles, or tactics would come under the objects of the Federation.

The articles defining the duties of the bureau and of the management committee limit their functions entirely to the carrying out of the instructions given to them by the Congress itself, and to the rendering of such assistance to any affiliated national trade union center as is directly requested and which does not involve any of the other national trade union centers.

Nowhere in the constitution are the executives, the bureau, the management committee, or the conference clothed with authority to determine principles or tactics, or to originate a declaration of a general nature, or to attempt in any way to define the objects of the Federation. Despite all of these provisions to safeguard the autonomy of the national trade union movement of each country, these constitutional guaranties have been totally ignored or violated.

You will recall that at the congress held in Amsterdam, 1919, the following action was adopted:

"With this aim in view the Congress instructs the bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to collect all documents and to keep this collection up to date which will give full information as to the results obtained by the socialization of the means of production of any branch of industry in the countries where such experiment has been made and to then communicate the results obtained to the national centers affiliated."

You will note that this action of the congress limited the work of the bureau to the making of an investigation of questions of socialization and to reporting its findings to the executives of each of the affiliated national trade union centers. These were specific instructions given to this bureau. The bureau undertook to express definite conclusions and to speak on behalf of the federation, going so far as to set up for the federation a definite though uninstructed policy, against which the American and British delegations protested. You will no doubt remember that the American delegation to the Amsterdam Congress argued and protested against the adoption of a resolution which declared that when a resolution is adopted by the Congress by a majority vote it would be binding upon all national trade union centers. The protest was founded upon the constitutional guaranty of autonomy of the national trade union centers as provided in the constitution, and the delegations from Great Britain and the United States voted in opposition and protest and maintained that their autonomous rights should not and must not be invaded.

In the proclamation sent out from the headquarters of the

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International Federation of Trade Unions in Amsterdam the workers of all countries are officially urged to "manifest their unity in this way and vigorously start the movement for the socialization under the guidance of their unions. . . ."

The proclamation also contains the following language:

"To all laborers in the world, there is one aim on which they *must* focus all their efforts and which should enlist them against the reaction. This aim, this common field of action, is the socialization of the means of production."

By this action the bureau has not only usurped the functions of making declarations without the unanimous approval of the congress and in violation of specific instructions limiting its authority, but it also undertook to give enforcement to those declarations as is evidenced in the following cablegram:

"Amsterdam, Holland, April 18, 1920

"Afel, Washington.

"Decided committee meeting great demonstrations on the first of May for socialization means of production and ratification conventions Washington conference. OUDEGEEST"

It is evident from the foregoing that while the autonomy of each trade union center is guaranteed by section 1 of the first article of the constitution of the International Federation of Trade Unions, these guaranties have been utterly and flagrantly violated and disregarded and in practical effect this section has been completely abrogated.

Then again under date of March 31 and April 1, 1921, there was a meeting of the international conference held under the auspices of the International Federation of Trade Unions at which there was adopted a resolution, approved by the bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions at its meeting held on the 14th of March, 1921. The declaration was made that it is a mistaken policy for governments to attempt a solution of the problems of reparation by exclusively financial measures. The meeting undertook to express a program on this subject and called upon the labor movements in all countries concerned to institute a campaign to *force* their governments to accept the solution proposed by the united international working classes.

In the article in the constitution of the International Federation of Trade Unions, entitled "The Conference," there is no power vested in such a conference to decide questions of principles or tactics of a trade union nature apart from "exceptional cases." We presume that the conference constituted itself the deciding body as to whether the above was an exceptional case which might warrant the conference in disregarding the autonomy right to each national trade union center. It is and was the understanding of the American delegation in attendance at the Amsterdam Congress of 1919 that the conference would have no authority to determine such questions but that this authority was vested solely in the Congress. If the autonomy of the national trade union movement of each country means anything at all, it certainly cannot mean that any other body but the Congress itself can decide such questions. It is our viewpoint that the conference not only exceeded its authority in acting upon this subject, but that it further violated the autonomy guaranties in attempting to give enforcement to the declaration of the conference of March 31 and April 1 by the adoption of the following resolution:

"With the object of carrying out the decisions contained in the resolutions adopted, the conference instructs the national trade union centers concerned to send regularly to the secretariat of the International Federation of Trade Unions monthly reports on what has been done by the labor movement to enforce the decisions and on what has been done by the governments concerned."

Pray, from whence comes authority to you to instruct?

By what right are "instructions" issued by the bureau, the management committee, or the conference?

Is the bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions to follow the procedure of the soviets by dictating and compelling men and national movements to do things upon order?

Was it not the intent that the International Federation of Trade Unions should be a voluntary organization, built upon the concept that for one to enforce his will upon another is tyranny?

Since when has autonomy come to mean compulsion?

The American labor movement is a voluntary organization depending upon the cooperation, the good-will, the intelligence and understanding of its members, and not upon the domination of one part by another.

The resolution of which you speak "instructs" the national centers to advise the bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions of what has been done to "enforce" the decision of the conference in relation to international affairs. What is the meaning of this order to "enforce" the decision against the governments? Is it not a command to revolution?

Notwithstanding the insinuations contained in your letter, it must be emphasized that the position taken by the officers of the American Federation of Labor, by the conventions of the American Federation of Labor, and by the American delegates to the international congress at Amsterdam has throughout been consistent and in harmony with the long established policies of the American Federation of Labor both regarding its domestic policies and its international policies. The Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor reporting to the 1920 convention at Montreal said:

"You will observe in the report of our delegates to the Amsterdam congress that in addition to the question of per capita tax attention is called to the character of some of the resolutions and policies adopted, the trend of which is toward a theory which the American labor movement has persistently declined to accept."

In the letter under date of March 5, 1921, conveying to you the position of the Executive Council in relation to affiliation, there is the following:

"The executive officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions have committed the federation to a revolutionary policy which the American Federation of Labor in the interest of the toiling masses can not sanction but which on the contrary it is bound by every law of sanity and reason to oppose."

In your letter you endeavor to interpret the action of the Montreal convention upon the railroad situation as being in accord with the principles enunciated in the proclamation above quoted. Of course, we dissent from this viewpoint that you have expressed. We see no analogy between the two declarations whatever. That, however, is beside the question.

You make much of the statement that President Gompers was honorary chairman of the Plumb Plan League. The chief point of interest in that statement is that Mr. Gompers was on his way to Europe when the Plumb Plan League was formed and had no part whatever in its creation or maintenance. While his name was published as honorary chairman, to have interfered with that action at that time would have been extremely harmful to the railroad organizations in the crisis with which they were confronted regarding railroad legislation.

When the American delegates to the Amsterdam congress approved the constitution, it was with the distinct understanding that the executive officers, the conference, the bureau or the management committee, or any of them combined could not take any action conflicting with the constitutional guarantee of national trade union center autonomy unless it had the unanimous approval and support of all the affiliated national trade union centers. In the issuance of the proclamation to which we have referred, a new and foreign interpretation was given to the constitution, and the autonomy rights of affiliated national trade union centers were wholly disregarded. The only possible provision of the constitution upon which the bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions might base its action is that part under the caption of "The Conference, Its Convention," wherein it provides that "all propositions shall, as far as these rules do not provide otherwise, be decided by a simple majority." Again there arises the question as to which proposals require unanimous consent of all affiliated

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national trade union centers and which may be decided by a majority vote. The only provision in the constitution bearing on this subject is that which guarantees the autonomy of the national trade union movement of each country. Under the indefinite arrangement set up by you, it is possible for the executives, the bureau, the management committee, and even the conference itself to disregard the autonomy of the national trade union movements of each country. The failure to define clearly those questions which may be determined by a majority vote and those which can only be determined by a unanimous vote, is a fundamental weakness of the entire arrangement of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the officers of the International Federation of Trade Unions as well as the conference have not hesitated to use this weakness in disregarding the autonomous rights of the American Federation of Labor. . . . It is this action on the part of the officers of the bureau, the management committee, and the conference which has compelled the American Federation of Labor to decline affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions, at least until the autonomous guaranties have been fully safeguarded.

In substantiation of our objection quoted secondly in your letter "that through the issuance of appeals and proclamations the executive body of the International Federation had committed the federation to a revolutionary principle," it must be said that your letter constitutes a misrepresentation of the whole contention made by the American Federation of Labor and does so in a manner that is particularly objectionable inasmuch as it charges bad faith on our part. In your most recent letter you call attention to our quotations from the various proclamations dealing with socialization, the general strike, and the refusal to manufacture munitions of war, and you intimate that these appeals have been read carelessly or only in part and that a false understanding of their contents has been conveyed to the membership of the American Federation of Labor.

On the contrary, the character of the proclamations issued from the headquarters in Amsterdam was so amazing that each of them has been read not only once but many times in an effort to discover whether the apparent meaning was in reality the intended meaning. There has been no confusion whatever of the terms "socialization and socialism." . . .

Your attempt to appease the American workers by seeking to disguise socialization as mere government ownership would be amusing in any other connection, but surely you do not hope to deceive any thoughtful persons in such a transparent manner.

In the matter of opposition to war, your effort to misrepresent the position of the American Federation of Labor is equally unfair and unworthy. "You do not mean to say that the annihilation of human life . . . meets with your approbation?" is the way your contemptible inquiry is stated. The American Federation of Labor, since its formation in 1881, has never failed to set its face against war, but, on the contrary, at every opportunity (and where no opportunity existed it has created the opportunity), it has declared emphatically against international war and for universal disarmament by agreement. It was the American Federation of Labor through its president that wrote and cabled most urgent appeals to the late Carl Legien, the president of the general commission of trade unions of Germany, to make every effort to prevent the United States being forced into the European war.

The manner, the method, and the time of your proclamation could have had no other purpose than to assist the autocratic, tyrannical usurpers in Russia in their plan to undermine and destroy the democracies of the world and to make these democracies helpless against soviet propaganda with its military aggression and compulsory labor. You demanded that the workers of all countries refuse to manufacture and transport munitions of war.

You made that demand at a time when it could have been of service only to autocratic Powers and when it would have been, had it been acted upon, of disastrous consequences to democratic governments in the world.

The workers of the United States decline to obey proclamations of that character and particularly so when they have had no voice in determining the issue.

We are not unaware of the continental European custom of observing May first as a holiday of the workers, but, surely, you do not expect that we will be convinced that your appeal in 1920 was not for a general strike on May 1, not only for the workers of Europe but also of the United States, particularly in view of the fact that in certain European countries it was sought to follow your command literally, with serious, injurious results long since known to all. Neither can there be any question of your intent in your proclamation of September 8, 1919, in which you urge the workers to "prepare, if necessary, for mass action by means of a general strike."

Your position is clear, even if your defense of it is not, and your position is such that the American Federation of Labor cannot lend its support and affiliation to the International Federation of Trade Unions while that position remains the official and recognized policy of the International Federation of Trade Unions.

Regarding the third objection, relating to the system of dues, there can be little added to what has already been conveyed to you on this subject other than that it is the further viewpoint of the American Federation of Labor that it should not be required to contribute to a fund that is being used to promote objects which are foreign to the true mission of the International Federation of Trade Unions and purposes which are not only clearly outside of its scope and unauthorized by unanimous consent of all affiliated national trade union centers, but which are repugnant to the American labor movement.

If complete autonomy means anything it certainly cannot mean that we should contribute to promote declarations and actions which we cannot support or advocate.

We are further prompted to inform you that it was the clear and unmistakable understanding of all in attendance at the Amsterdam conference that the American delegates in attendance had no authority other than to report the actions of the Amsterdam meeting to the American Federation of Labor and that the American Federation of Labor could only become a party to the International Federation of Trade Unions by action of its convention. Every utterance made, every action taken, and every attitude expressed by the American delegation to the Amsterdam Congress was with this understanding clearly in mind.

It is, therefore, difficult to understand the great stress and constant repetition that are made in your letter to a possible repudiation and disavowal of the representations and actions of the American delegates for, as a matter of fact, they were indorsed by unanimous vote of the convention of the A. F. of L. . . .

To say, as you have said, that this body, itself composed of fully 570 delegates, representing 4,500,000 workers, does not understand and is ignorant and superficial, is to utter that which no visitor to an American Federation of Labor convention would approve by silence, much less express, and is to place upon yourself the responsibility for being misinformed and furthermore for expressing your misinformation in a most puerile and churlish manner.

Your intended affront, your charge of inability to comprehend and understand, is thus, as you will see, a charge against the Executive Council, the whole membership of our Federation, and against the 570 delegates who compose its conventions. We are certain that they will feel a resentment as keen as that felt by us as the Executive Council. . . .

We cannot accept your presumption at your own valuation. We must respectfully decline to accept your declarations and proclamations as truly expressive of the sentiments of the whole trade union movement of Europe. We have faith in the good sense and understanding of the labor movements

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with whom we proudly stood side by side in the great war for democracy and human freedom, and we are hopeful that the time is not far distant when the trade union movements of all the nations of the world may cooperate on a basis of common good-will, understanding, and constructive effort.

In so far as our affiliation with the International Federation of Trade Unions at the present time is concerned, we must repeat the former declarations made in our communications to you, emphasize them, if possible, and await the hour in which it may be possible to fulfil our hopes of a united movement on a basis that accords with the philosophy of democracy, with autonomy for all, freedom for all, and a common goal of a better time for all the toilers and all the peoples.

So far as your letter reflects upon the character and the work of Mr. W. A. Appleton, the first President of the International Federation of Trade Unions and who resigned from that position, we may be permitted to say that after the many years of service which Mr. Appleton has rendered to the cause of labor and international good-will and solidarity we would prefer to hold our judgment in abeyance until he has been heard rather than to take your aspersions upon him as one hundred per cent true. The attitude which you have assumed in your correspondence with the American Federation of Labor, the unwarranted and untruthful charges and insinuations which you have made against our men and our movement, justify this position we have taken in regard to Mr. Appleton.

We have been under the impression that the Bureau of the International Federation of Trade Unions was required to communicate with the officers of the national trade union centers, and if necessary, the latter to communicate to the trade unions affiliated to them; but, evidently in the hope that you could undermine the American Federation of Labor you sent a copy of your letter to each of the international trade unions of America. . . .

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Statement from the Mexican Financial Office

Report Made by Eng. Joaquin Santaella, Chief of the Mines and Oil Department of the Secretary of Finances of Mexico

In order to clearly demonstrate, once for all, that the Oil Companies actually operating in Mexican fields, are entirely wrong when they consider as confiscatory the taxes that the Mexican Government has assigned to the production and exportation of oil, and with that pretext making their actual campaign, which possibly might end in an international conflict, it is necessary to analyze the cost of production and transportation of oil. Before doing so, I will copy what has been said about this cost by authorized oilmen, as Mr. Harry J. Smith, Secretary of the Mid-Continent Oil & Gas Association and by Mr. W. R. Gray of the Oilmen Associations of Kansas and Oklahoma.

Mr. Harry J. Smith, in his report to the Association, stated that: "Mexico produced over 163,000,000 barrels of oil during the year of 1920, out of only from 184 to 200 wells, making an average production of 2,400 barrels per day for each well. (Geologist Arnold's report considered this average at 2,600 barrels.) The American wells only produce less than 5,000 barrels per day. Considering that the medium cost of a well is $60,000, we find that the 200 producing wells of Mexico, costing $12,000,000, produced . . .163,000,000 barrels in one year at a cost of $0.073 per barrel. In the United States with a medium production of 5,000 barrels per day for each well, 89,000 wells should be required to produce same amount of 163,000,000 barrels, and figuring the cost of drilling at $20,000 for each well, an investment of $1,780,000,000 would be necessary, and $10.92 would be the cost of each barrel."

Mr. W. H. Gray, representing the Oilmen Associations of Kansas and Oklahoma, asked the American Congress for an import tax on crude oil coming from Mexico, and stated as evidence that the cost of production in Mexico amounted to $0.10 per barrel. From all above stated, it can be deduced that the highest cost price of production has been considered at $0.10 a barrel; but the Oil Associations in the United States are figuring the total production of oil in Mexico, for all wells in general, when the truth is that the 41 producing wells in the fields of Zacamixtle, Amatlan, Los Naranjos, etc., have a medium daily production of 10,000 barrels and the 127 producing wells in the fields of Panuco 1,500 barrels per day. In the United States it is generally believed that the medium daily production of the wells in Mexico is of 2,400 or 2,600 as Geologist Arnold stated, for each well, and that is surely an error, because they do not know that oilmen in Mexico do not operate except those wells of big production, without paying any attention to wells producing less than 1,000 barrels per day, while in the United States this kind of well would be greatly appreciated as the production of their wells is of no more than 5,000 barrels per day.

Estimate of Cost of Production of the Mexican Wells

Total cost of drilling one well in the zone of Amatlan and Zacamixtle	Mex. Pesos	200,000
Interest on Mex. Pesos 200,000 at 6 per cent. ann.	" "	12,000
Exhaustion figured at 50 per cent. per ann.	" "	100,000
Management	" "	10,000
Work and Sundries	" "	5,000
Total for one year	Mex. Pesos	127,000
corresponding to a daily expense of	" "	349

As the real production in the wells of this zone is of 10,000 barrels per day the cost per barrel will be $0.035. The cost of drilling a well in the zone of Panuco is figured at no more than $60,000, Mex. Cy.

Cost of Exploitation in One Year

Interest at 6 per cent	Mex. Cy.	$3,600
Exhaustion 50 per cent	" "	30,000
Management	" "	10,000
Work and Sundries	" "	5,000
	Mex. Cy.	$48,600

The medium daily production in the Northern District, including Panuca, Topila, Ebano, etc., is of 1,500 barrels, which gives a cost of $0.09 Mex. Cy. per barrel.

Cost of Transportation. (62 miles)

An oil pipe line of 62 miles long and 10 inches diameter, like the one constructed by the Mexican Gulf Oil Co., from Panuco to Palo Blanco, cost as reported by said company $5,000,000 Mex. Cy., and has a capacity of 30,000 barrels per day. Accepting this cost amount as real—no matter that it is exaggerated—because the price for an oil pipe line as the one referred to in the United States is only of $2,000,000, the cost for running said pipe line would be:

Interest 6 per cent	Mex. Cy.	$300,000
Depreciation 20 per cent	" "	1,000,000
Management	" "	30,000
Taking care of Pumps and Pipe lines	" "	35,000
Repairs	" "	12,000
Fuel 15,000 barrels at 0.05 Mex. Cy.	" "	750
Total cost of exploitation	Mex. Cy.	$1,377,750

or $3,755, Mex. Cy., a day, more or less.

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Calculating the unloading volume of said pipe line at 1,250 barrels per hour, we would obtain an amount of 30,000 barrels a day or 9,000,000 barrels per year of 300 days, with a cost of $1,377,750 Mex. Cy., that is $0.15 per barrel, which will be the standard price for net figures. The authorized tariff is of $0.02 for each ton-kilometer, in the connections for pipe lines.

The cost of transportation of each barrel from Panuco to Tampico through a 50 kilometer pipe line will be of $0.08 Mex. Cy., and the transportation of one barrel of light oil from Tuxpam and Puerto Lobos by a 40 kilometer pipe line will be of $0.06 Mex. Cy., more or less. The shipping freight tariff from Mexican to American ports, from Oil and Gas Journal, April 29th, and the "Shipping," June 10th, are:

From Tampico, Tuxpam, or Puerto Lobos to New York	$0.40 per barrel
From Tampico, Tuxpam, or Puerto Lobos to Galveston	0.22½ " "
From Tampico, Tuxpam or Puerto Lobos to New Orleans	0.30 " "

Duties per Barrel. (Crude of Tuxpam.)

Considering that the medium density of crude oil from Tuxpam is of 0.925 when exported the corresponding duties are:

Revenue Stamps	Pesos 0.312
Export Duties	" 0.397
Infalsificable. (Old bank notes)	" 0.031
Total	Pesos 0.741

Oil from the North district has a medium density of 0.98 and pays the following duties:

Revenue Stamps	Pesos 0.179
Export duties	" 0.246
Infalsificable (Old bank notes)	" 0.018
Total	Pesos 0.443

Revenue Stamps are paid as per circular letter No. 96, (May-June) but for this month (July) probably the amount to be paid is less.

Quotation in Texas.

The Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter published the 27th, June last, gives the following quotations for Mexican oils, per barrel:

Heavy crude oil from Tampico	$0.80—Ps. 1.60
Light crude oil from Tuxpam	$1.50—Ps. 3.00

Above quotations do not include duties as in that time these were paid by buyer, therefore, the real price was:

Heavy crude oil from Panuco	$0.90—Ps. 1.80
Light crude oil from Tuxpam	$1.67—Ps. 3.34

Above quotations continued during the first week of July past, as reported by the Financial Agency at New York. Probably they are improved now; improvement being due to the restriction that the Standard Oil and her allies ordered in the exploitation of oil. We must not fear the competition of American oil because the quotation at the well published by the newspapers increases very much with transportation charges, making prices higher. The minimum cost price being $1.75 their real prices are higher, as otherwise they would stop working, since nobody likes to work for nothing.

Actual Business.

Crude Oil from Panuco.

Cost of Production per barrel	Mex. Cy. $0.09
Transportation to Tampico	" " 0.08
Transportation to Galveston	" " 0.45
Total duties	" " 0.44
Total cost price in Galveston	Mex. Cy. $1.06 per barrel
Price of barrel	" " 1.80
Net profit, per barrel	Mex. Cy. $0.74

Crude Oil from Tuxpam.

Cost of Production per barrel	Mex. Cy. $0.04
Transportation to Puerto Lobos	" " 0.06
Transportation to Galveston	" " 0.45
Total duties	" " 0.74
Total cost price in Galveston	Mex. Cy. $1.29
Price per barrel	" " 3.34
Net profit, per barrel	Mex. Cy. $2.05
	$1.025

Any Company having enough wells, a pipe line and oil tankers, is able to export 20,000 barrels per day or 600,000 barrels per month, obtaining the following benefits:

With crude oil from Panuco	Mex. Cy. $ 444,000
With crude oil from Tuxpam	" " 1,230,000

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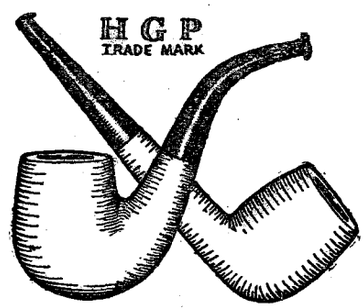

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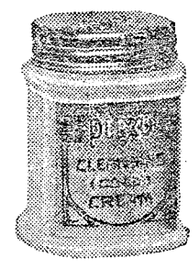

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